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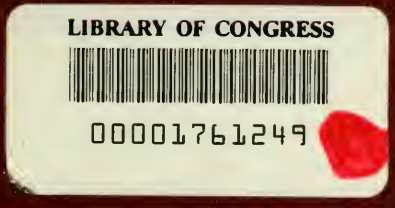

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THE

VIRGINIAN HISTORY

OF

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

By Rev. P. Slaughter.

"Africa gave to Virginia, a Savage and a Slave; Virginia gives back to Africa a Citizen and a Christian."—*Henry A. Wise.*

RICHMOND:
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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

VIRGINIAN HISTORY OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

AFRICA IN AMERICA.

A problem: America in Africa; its solution in part. Remarkable series of events leading to the formation of the Colonization Society. Extraordinary concurrence of politicians of all parties and christians of all creeds. Apparent instances of Providential intervention. Injudicious defences of Slavery: the true ground upon which to rest our peculiar institution. The Colonization Society a true exponent of public sentiment, and a response to repeated demands of the General Assembly. Colonization and Abolition antagonistic: Colonization a safety-valve to the ship of State; Abolition the bursting of the boiler. Colonization stamped with the broad seal of the Commonwealth by ten General Assemblies in the course of fifty years; and sustained by the authority of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, and nearly all the governors of the State, and by a greater number of eminent Virginians than ever concurred in favor of any other measure of State policy.

In the year 1607 three English ships were driven by stress of weather into the capes of Virginia; and, having ascended the James River, effected the first permanent settlement of the white race upon the North American continent. In the year 1620, a Dutch man-of-war ascended the same river, and landed at the same place twenty African slaves. And now for the first time, the white man, the black man, and the red man stood face to face, and gazed upon each other in the New World.

From that moment these three races started upon a new career, which is now in the process of development before our eyes, and which is destined, in our humble judgment, to fulfil upon a large scale that remarkable prophecy uttered thousands of years before by the Patriarch Noah, when, standing upon the mount of inspiration, and looking down the course of future time, he proclaimed: "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant."

The contemplation of the career upon which these three races started at that eventful moment will teach us some interesting and instructive lessons. There was the white man, the type of Christian civilization. He began immediately to increase in the most rapid and wonderful manner. In a very few years, he penetrated every river that opened its mouth into the Atlantic Ocean; he ascended every hill, passed every mountain, poured along the valleys, and spread over the continent. But not only has he subdued the wilderness, and made those vast solitudes, hitherto unbroken save by the war-whoop of the Indian and the scream of the eagle, vocal with the hum of industry

* This article was written for the Southern Literary Messenger by the author of this History, and appeared January, 1856.

and the songs of christian praise; but he has accomplished a revolution which has no parallel in the annals of the world; and laid the foundation of governments which have no model upon the face of the globe. The kings of the old world are looking with awe and disquietude upon this "new Rome rising in the West; the foreshadows of whose greatness yet to be are extending darkly and heavily over their dominions, and obscuring the lustre of their thrones."

Where are the other parties to this interesting meeting? The red man has retired before the rising tide of white population; receding from the Blue Ridge o the Alleghany, from the Alleghany to the Mississippi; and disappearing from each in quick succession, like snow before the sun. He may linger for a few years on our western horizon, but is destined ere long to make his "ocean grave with the setting sun." His history is an instructive instance of the effect of leaving an inferior in contact with a superior race, and in the enjoyment of its own wild liberty. Had the African been left like the Indian, in his native freedom, his would have been the fate of the Indian.* But in the mysterious Providence of God, the African was "bound to the car of the Anglo-American," who has borne him along with him in his upward career, protecting his weakness and providing for his wants. Accordingly, he has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, until he is numbered by millions instead of scores; and if the accession by immigration had not been arrested, the black might have surpassed the white population. In the meantime, the black man has been trained in the habits, manners and arts of civilized life, been taught the christian religion, and been gradually rising in the intellectual and moral order, until he is far above his race in their native seats. In these facts we see traces of the designs of an all-wise Providence, in permitting the black man to be brought here and subjected to the discipline of slavery tempered by christianity, and regulated by law. Verily, if there had been no other end of such a procedure, this "seeming sharp Providence of God would have been highly justified." But as we proceed, we shall see new and more beautiful instances of design as the history of the race is evolved under the Providence of God.

No sooner had we taken our place as an independent power among the nations, and begun to legislate for ourselves, than a new phenomenon attracted the attention of our legislators; viz: the class of free colored people. The thirteen colonies which adopted the Declaration of Independence were slaveholders. When these colonies became States, they reserved their sovereign power over the question of slavery. In the exercise of that sovereignty, seven of the original thirteen in process of time emancipated their slaves. Many individuals in the Southern States emancipated a still larger number. This anomalous class soon attracted the public attention. Mr. Jefferson prepared a comprehensive plan of colonization in 1776; but nothing definite was done, probably because when the report of the committee of revision was acted upon, Jefferson, its chairman, was in France, and Pendleton and Wythe, two of its members, were on the bench. In after years, the subject was repeatedly discussed in the legislature, and became a matter of grave consultation and correspondence between the President of the United States (Jefferson) and Page and Monroe, governors of Virginia. The General Assembly, in 1800, 1802 and 1805, passed resolutions upon the subject; and opinions were interchanged between the President of the United States, the governors of Virginia, and the General Assembly, as to the comparative advantages of our South-western frontier, of the West Indies, and of Africa, as a site for the proposed Asylum for free negroes. Our difficulties with foreign powers now supervened, and arrested these interest-

* In the Northern States the free negroes are declining in numbers, notwithstanding the accession to them of fugitive slaves. The heaviest abatement has been in the last twenty years, the period of the most strenuous efforts of the Abolitionists.

ing proceedings. Mr. Jefferson, however, continued to agitate the subject from his retirement at Monticello; saying, in 1811: "I have long made up my mind, and have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought this the most desirable measure that could be adopted for drawing off this part of our population; most advantageous for them as well as for us. Going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa; and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seeds of civilization; which might render their sojourn here a blessing in the end to that country."

So soon as the country was again at peace, the public mind reverted with renewed interest to the subject of colonization: and in December 1816, the General Assembly passed the following resolutions by a majority of 137 *out of* 146 *votes in the House of Delegates; and with but one dissenting voice in the Senate:*

"Whereas, the General Assembly of Virginia has repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum beyond the limits of the United States for such persons of color as have been or may be emancipated under the laws of this Commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or by domestic causes equally unpropitious; they now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have agreed with the United States in abolishing the slave trade (a traffic which this Commonwealth, both before and after the revolution, sedulously sought to extirpate,) to renew this effort: therefore

Resolved, That the executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the States or Territories of the United States, to serve for an asylum of such persons of color as are now free and desire the same: and for those who may be hereafter emancipated within this Commonwealth: and that the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States be requested to exert their best efforts to aid in the attainment of that object."

These resolutions, which are substantially a copy of those of 1802 and 1805, contain the whole idea of the Colonization Society, as now embodied. But something more than mere political expediency, or even motives of humanity, was necessary for the realization of this idea. Grand epochs in the history of man's amelioration are signalized by higher motives than those which dictate mere human policies. Christianity is the mainspring of that intricate mechanism which is bearing the earth along from its wintry and torpid position, and bringing it under the influence of serener heavens and an awakening Spring. It was not until the spirit of God breathed the breath of life into the speculation of the politician that it became an organized and living body in the form of the "Colonization Society." Let us look back for a moment, and see how this new element entered into the combination, and secured that indispensable condition of success, the co-operation of christians and politicians to the same end.

The conversion of Central Africa to christianity had long been an insoluble problem to the christian church. The "Sun of Righteousness," in making his sun-like circuit of the earth, had visited other lands, and even illumined the frontiers of Africa; but not a ray had penetrated the land of the Black man. Ethiopia was still the "Niobe of Nations, childless and crownless in her voiceless woe." In response to her mute appeal, missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, casting behind them "all countryships, and all the sweet charities of Home," went forth, for two centuries, with the heroic purpose of planting the "ensigns of the Gospel" within this intrenched camp of Satan. The result was a perfect failure; and the bones of a noble army of martyrs bleached their burning sands. To human view, the land seemed doomed; but not to the eye of faith, which saw, through these frowning Providences, "Ethiopia [in the language of the Prophet] stretching out her hands unto God." Many christian hearts were still anxiously revolving the problem;

and to them the happy thought was suggested (as we believe, by the spirit of God,) of returning to the land of their fathers christianized Africans bearing the ark of God, and all the institutions of christian civilization. Happily, there was a class of these persons (the free negroes) to whose going no objection could be opposed. Indeed, all interests, social and political, conspired to favor the suggestion. Thus, politicians and christians (each unconscious of what the other was doing) started from different stand-points and, proceeding upon different times of argument, came to the same conclusion at the same time.*

Accordingly, politicians of all parties and christians of all creeds assembled in the city of Washington soon after the passage of the Virginia resolutions, and laid the foundation of the Colonization Society; burying under its corner-stone all party feelings in politics, and all sectarian jealousies in religion. What but the over-ruling Providence of God could have produced this conjuncture of circumstances and union of minds?†

It was a happy coincidence, that the year of the establishment of the Colonization Society was the year of Jas. Monroe's accession to the Presidency of the United States. We have seen Monroe's active co-operation, while governor of Virginia, with Jefferson, then President of the United States, in stimulating and shaping those acts of the General Assembly of Virginia which led to the formation of the Colonization Society. We shall now see his agency in a higher sphere, in executing those laws of Congress which were perhaps indispensable to the establishment of the Colony itself. It was hardly possible for a private society, with small pecuniary resources, and working with such rude materials, to make a permanent plantation upon a distant and barbarous shore.‡ And it was not likely that the government of the United States would take the responsibility of such a measure, although Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Marshall all concurred in the opinion of its expediency and constitutionality. But that Divine Providence whose ways are not as our ways had (as it seems to our short sight) laid far back in the legislation of Congress a train of causes whose effects made it the interest of our General Government to co-operate with the Colonization Society. The act of Congress prohibiting the foreign slave trade after 1808 contained a provision placing Africans recaptured by our Navy at the disposition of the legislature of any State within whose territory they might be landed. Under this provision, the legislatures of several States sold a number of recaptured Africans into slavery. In 1819, two delegates from Virginia, Messrs. Mercer and Floyd, reported a bill repealing those provisions which enabled a State to defeat the intention of Congress in prohibiting the slave trade. The law of 1819 committed all recaptured Africans to the custody of the marshals of the United States *until they could be restored to their own country.* It also authorized the President of the United States to appoint agents upon the coast of Africa, to receive these Africans; and appropriated $100,000 to carry its provisions into effect.¶ The legislation of

* The proceedings of the General Assembly of Virginia up to 1816 had been in secret session. Dr. Hopkins conceived the idea of substituting negroes for white missionaries to Africa in 1789.

† Among the persons most active in the measures leading to the formation of the Society were Rev. Dr. Findley of New Jersey, Bishop Meade of Virginia, and Messrs. Key and Caldwell of the District of Columbia. Henry Clay presided at the meeting on the 21st of December; and addresses were delivered by him and John Randolph of Roanoke. Judge Washington was made President; and among the vice-presidents were Clay, Crawford, Andrew Jackson, Bishop Meade and John Tyler of Virginia.

‡ The Society had borrowed money to pay the expenses of Mills and Burgess in searching for a site for the colony. Gen. Mercer in Baltimore, and Bishop Meade in Virginia, raised more than $10,000 to replace this sum.

¶ For the details of these events, see 2nd chap. of the Virginian History of African Colonization.

Congress having thus devolved upon the government of the United States a necessity for providing an asylum for recaptured Africans, it became the interest of the General Government to co-operate with the Colonization Society, whose benevolent designs were just ripe for execution. We cannot tell how it strikes others, but for ourselves, we recognize with reverence in these proceedings what seem to us unmistakeable indications of a Divine Providence presiding over and "shaping the ends" of individuals and of nations.

The beneficent interpretation of this law of Congress by Mr. Monroe, and the kind offices of Capts. Wadsworth, Stockton and Spence, of the Navy, acting under his orders, enabled the Society to overcome the formidable obstacles to the successful plantation of the colony at Cape Mesurado. It was in acknowledgment of these services that the capital of the infant settlement was called Monrovia.

In 1820 (just two hundred years after the landing of the blacks at Jamestown,) the Elizabeth sailed for the coast of Africa, with eighty-three emigrants and a few white men, who had volunteered to be pioneers in this doubtful and perilous experiment. We will not stop to recite the affecting story of their adventures, which in many incidents were strangely like those of the first settlers of Virginia. The time may come when their heroism may be fitly commemorated by the muse of History.

> Altho' no sculptured form should deck the place,
> Or marble monuments those ashes grace,
> Still, for the deeds of worth which they have done,
> Shall flowers unfading flourish on their tomb.*

Only one-third of a century has elapsed since the little company of free negroes pitched their tents in the African wilderness, and the result is the Republic of Liberia, whose independence has been acknowledged by most of the leading nations in the world. Colonizationists have been charged with painting too flattering portraits of this young republic. We admit that this has sometimes been done. Exaggeration is the child of enthusiasm, as enthusiasm is generally the parent of novel and bold enterprises. But if the friends of Liberia have extenuated her failings, her enemies have "set down much in malice." If our pictures are sometimes overwrought, theirs are often caricatures. If *we* are *enthusiasts*, *they* are *fanatics*, if fanaticism be, according to a great philosopher, "enthusiasm inflamed by hatred."† But if we set aside the prejudiced witnesses on either side, and take only the disinterested testimony of our naval officers, we shall find evidence enough to at least encourage a rational hope that our experiment will succeed. Commodores Stockton, Perry, Cooper, Lavallette, Read, Mayo, Gregory, and we believe every officer who has commanded a squadron upon the coast of Africa; with Commanders Marston, Lynch, Foote, Rudd, and many other subordinate officers, unite in bearing witness to the general contentment, comfort, and spirit of improvement which reign in Liberia, justifying, in their opinion, the confident expectation that the settlement will endure, and furnish a happy home for all of our colored people who may seek an asylum there.‡

But whatever conflicting opinions may be entertained upon this subject, the following facts are undeniable: there exists upon the coast of Africa *a Republic of free blacks* from the United States, organized after the American model. They live under a constitution *recognizing the principles of civil and religious liberty,*

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* Gurley's Life of Ashmunis, a noble and eloquent tribute to these humble but heroic pioneers.

† The hatred of an Abolitionist is never so intense as when a colonizationist is the object of it.

‡ All who desire full information upon this point should take the trouble to read the letters of these officers, Gurley's Report to the State Department, Lynch and Pinney's Observations, and Lugenbeel's Sketches of the Climate, Diseases, Geography, Productions, and general condition of Liberia.

which lie at the base of our own institutions, and which are not enjoyed by any other people under the sun. They have a *President*, who is elected every two years; and *senators and representatives*, who are elected annually. These elections have been for many years conducted with order and according to law. The annual messages of the President compare favorably with similar documents from the governors of our States, and breathe a more enlarged and elevated tone of morals and statesmanship than many of the latter documents. They have *courts of justice*, in which the laws are administered with dignity and intelligence. They have *printing presses* and *newspapers;* high schools and common schools; and many churches, which are vocal every Sunday with the sound of the gospel, and with songs of praise. They have driven the slave trade from five hundred miles of the coast; thus accomplishing with the Dove of Peace what the Lion of Great Britain and the Eagle of America, floating at the mastheads of proud squadrons, have failed to achieve.* They have extended their jurisdiction over a hundred thousand natives, who have renounced many of their savage customs, and are being gradually trained in the arts of civilization.†

They have advanced the base of our missionary operations across the Atlantic; and make the centre of African missions coincide with what was lately the centre of African barbarism. They have provided an asylum for the exile, a home for the homeless, and a nursery of *indigenous* missionaries, who can live in a clime fatal to the white man.

When we compare the feeble instruments by which these results have been wrought, and the short time in which they have been working, with the immense expenditures of "civilization and missionary societies" for two hundred years before the founding of Liberia, it seems little less than a miracle, and looks like one of those instances in which the great Disposer of events chooses the weak and foolish things of the world to confound the wise and mighty.

In this view of it, African colonization is a great Christian mission, which has the fervent prayers of christians of all creeds in Virginia, and it is annually commended with *unanimous voices* by Methodist Conferences, Baptist Associations, Presbyterian Synods, and Episcopal Conventions; who look upon it as "God's plan" for the regeneration of Africa.‡

But while this is the great leading end of the Colonization Society, *the fact which vitalizes it*, it carries in its train many other benign results which enlist in its support the Philosopher, the Philanthropist, and the Politician. The Philosopher regards it as an interesting experiment to test the capacity of the negro for self-government. He sees that the African under the discipline of slavery has risen far above the stature of his ancestors in their native land; and he knows that man in a state of conscious inferiority cannot unfold his powers any more than a plant in the dark or under the shade. He must, in the language of Mr. Webster, come out. He must feel his equality. He must enjoy the shining sun in the heavens as much as those around him, before he feels that he is in all respects a man. The Philosopher thinks that in Liberia the negro has a favorable theatre for the full trial of the experiment; and he watches with anxiety the solution of the problem.

The Philanthropist sees in Virginia fifty thousand human beings (the free negroes) in a state of physical, mental, social and moral degradation in melancholy contrast with other classes of our people. They are nominally free, but

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* It is universally admitted that the slave trade has been banished from the whole Liberian coast.

† One native has been already a representative in the Assembly; and the kings and head men are sending their children to school.

‡ That these great bodies of christians are all of one mind upon this subject is one of the most remarkable facts in our history.

enjoy none of the privileges of freedom but the license of doing nothing. "Placed beneath the white man, on the one hand, and nominally above the slave, on the other; in contact with both, but in union with neither; they cannot be reached by the strong motives which impel either class to exertion and honest courses. All of the most lucrative and honorable pursuits of life are closed against them. They feel none of those nobler sentiments of our common nature which bid us, even in servitude, to cling with grateful reverence and affection to our benefactors and superiors. They do not even feel that salutary fear of impending punishment which, while it does not in itself morally elevate the slave, at least keeps him from idleness, and urges him to honest and orderly habits. Crushed by the combined agencies of superior capital and intelligence and the competing power of organized slave labor, itself wielded by intelligence and aided by capital; crowded out of the humbler occupations of life; with nothing of liberty but its name, and all of slavery but its blessings; with no country of his own, a social outcast and a political outlaw; the free negro, conscious of the irredeemable degradation of his lot, grows reckless of a future from which he has nothing to hope or fear, becomes discontented in his feelings, dishonest in his habits, and desperate in his crimes. Under these circumstances, they fill our jails with prisoners, our courts with criminals, and our penitentiary with convicts."*

We are so organized by our Creator, that, unless our moral sense is perverted by sophistical reasoning, we cannot but feel a compassion for our unfortunate fellow-creatures; especially when they lie in the dust at our feet, and are completely subject to our power. The sympathies which spring up spontaneously in our bosoms at the sight of such objects, and prompt us to extend our hands for their relief, are honorable to the human heart, however they may be sometimes brought into contempt by sickly sentimentalists, who do homage to this virtue by canting about what they do not feel. There are thousands of men in Virginia, worthy of all respect and honor, who have for half a century been revolving this problem of the destiny of this daily blackening mass of free negroes in our State. The result has been the suggestion of several schemes for their and our relief. It has been proposed to reduce them to slavery, as the most humane expedient. A proposition so opposed to the genius of our institutions and to the spirit of the age, is not likely to be seriously entertained by the legislature of Virginia, as indeed it could not be justified upon any recognized moral or American political principle, and could be vindicated only by the "tyrant's plea" of absolute necessity, a contingency which has certainly not yet arisen. Shall we amalgamate with them? All the instincts of our nature repel the suggestion. Between us and them "there is a great gulf fixed." Until the Ethiopian can change his skin, no human power can ever bridge that gulf so that we can stand upon the same social and political platform. No: the white man and the free negro—

> Stand and frown upon each other,
> Like cliffs that have been rent asunder,
> And neither heat nor frost nor thunder
> Shall ever do away, I ween,
> The marks of that which once hath been.

Another alternative is, to colonize them by force in the Northern States. As a measure of retaliation, this would be a just judgment upon the insane Abolitionists. But even if the scheme were practicable, we have no right to sport with these helpless creatures by making them the ministers of our vengeance. But the project is impracticable; for the subtle casuists of the North make a re-

* From 1800 to 1829, crimes among the free blacks were more than three times as many as among the whites; and four and a half times more numerous than among the slaves. From 1829 to the present time, the proportion has regularly increased. See Penitentiary reports, as quoted in Mr. Howard's memorial.

fined distinction between free negroes and fugitive slaves. The latter, coming to them upon "underground railroads," they welcome with open arms; while the former, coming in open day, are repelled with indignation and contempt.* Again, as a matter of policy, nothing could be more inexpedient than such a disposition of our free negroes; who would become correspondents of their friends here, exciting among them a spirit of discontent and insubordination; and facilitating the escape of fugitives. And then, every exile would add fuel to the flames already raging so fiercely in the North, and threatening with parricidal wickedness, to set fire to and consume the great temple of "American liberty." In confirmation of this view, we may adduce the authority of the governor elect of Virginia; who said in his late letter to Dr. Adams: "looking to the ends of ultimate colonization, and the true policy of the States at home, *I would prohibit by law the future emigration of the free colored population from our State to the free States.* Dr. Drake was right in his views of our laws driving away the free negroes to the free States. It has been one of the most baneful causes of Abolitionism in the North."

The question returns, what can be done with these miserable creatures? Our laws are bearing upon them with more and more stringency every year; tending to drive them beyond our borders. In the same proportion, the legislation of the North is shutting the door in their faces; and no way of escape remains but the "way of the sea." Shall we drive them, like the herd of swine possessed with devils, down "the steep," to be drowned? Justice and mercy both protest against the needless sacrifice. Shall we not rather avail ourselves of the open door disclosed to us by the Colonization Society, and use its economical† agency in conveying these helpless people across the intervening waters to the asylum which Providence, in apparent anticipation of the exigency, has prepared for them in their fatherland?

But it has been said, that it is not an act of humanity to send the free blacks to so inhospitable a clime. We confess that we have had some misgivings upon this point, founded upon the distressing mortality which has befallen some companies of emigrants to Liberia. But farther reflection and more accurate information have dissipated our doubts. Tropical Africa is the cradle of the negro race; and nothing seems to us more improbable than that the original seat of a people is not a fit habitation for them. But the conclusion is not warranted by the facts in the case. The mortality in question can, in nearly every instance, be distinctly traced to the inadequacy of the provision made for their comfort, or to the indiscretion of the emigrants, in rashly exposing themselves, during their acclimation, to the sun by day and the dews by night. These are contingencies to which emigrants to every new clime are liable; and in these cases may sometimes implicate the proper authorities in criminal negligence of the duties confided to them. Again, a comparison of the colonization of Liberia and of Virginia will be most instructive and convincing. A single passage from Howison's History of Virginia will suffice: "In 1609, Capt. Smith left at Jamestown 490 persons with abundant supplies. Indian ambuscades were in every hedge. The settlers were afraid to go out for food or recreation. Famine with all its horrors was

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* Witness the Black laws of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Delaware; and the Hon. Mr. Sawyer's speech in the House of Representatives, defending his constituents for the expulsion of John Randolph's negroes. A Virginian not long ago purchased a large tract of land in Ohio upon which he intended to settle 200 slaves, but his design was defeated by these laws.

† The Colonization Society has sent to Africa about 3,500 emigrants; which, at $50 each, would have cost the State $175,000; whereas, there has not been drawn from the State treasury by the Colonization Society during the whole period of its history, more than $20,000; the remainder having been supplied by donations in this and other States.

soon among them, and disease and death followed in its train. They ate the skins of horses, the bodies of Indians, dogs, and vermin. Of 490 persons, 60 only survived." The first two expeditions to our shores were overwhelmed at sea. The third effected a landing in 1656; and in five years was extinct. The fourth was successful, after a series of cruel distresses whose recital fills the mind with horror. If disasters had attended the colonization of Liberia similar to those which occurred at Jamestown and Plymouth, and which have signalized many removals from Virginia to our Southern and Western States, our enterprise would have been overwhelmed by the curses of those who have no tears to shed over the young, the beautiful, and the brave, whose bones bleach the prairies of the West and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean.*

But, it is said, that the growth of Liberia and the operation of the Colonization Society are too slow. This objection is characteristic of this age, and of the American people. We are impatient of results that are long in coming. Every thing, now-a-days, that is worthy of doing, must be done with the speed of lightning and the energy of an earthquake. This is an age of "expresses" and electric telegraphs, but not of miracles. Time is an indispensable element in human progress; and an omen of lasting grandeur and renown. French Republics may spring up in a night, like enchanted palaces in Arabian tales; but America was more than 150 years old before she declared her independence. Time was, when it was proposed to offer bounties to quicken immigration to our shores; and now, the emigration from the old world to the new is such as the world has never seen since the first dispersion of mankind. Emigrants are swarming over in crowds like the travellers to eternity; "while those who are left behind seem to feel a melancholy restlessness, like a bird whose wing is crippled at the season of migration; and a voice like that heard before the final destruction of Jerusalem seems to proclaim in their ears—'arise! let us depart hence!'" The present indications are, that by the time the resources of Liberia shall have been developed, and she shall have acquired a capacity of assimilating large numbers of our free blacks, the pressure upon them from a combination of causes will have become so intense, that a spontaneous movement will take place to Africa, like that of the pauper population of Europe to our own shores. A million and a half of poor Irishmen migrated from Ireland in five years. An exodus like this would soon carry our 400,000 free blacks to Africa.† But in Virginia, we have to deal with a much more practical proposition. The average increase per annum of the free negroes in Virginia, from 1830 to 1840 was two hundred and twenty-nine and one-fifth; and from 1840 to 1850, it was 411 per annum. The cost of transporting these, at $60 each, would be $24,600. But if we deduct from this annual increase the number of those (amounting in 1850 to more than 200) who were emancipated and allowed to remain in the State, the remainder would be less than the number actually sent to Liberia from Virginia in 1854. If, moreover, a judicious discrimination was made between the old and infirm, and the young and vigorous; removing the latter, and suffering the former to spend the barren remainder of their days among us, it is clear, that all our free blacks could be soon removed, except a small and comparatively inoffensive remnant.

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* The present writer, who has taken some pains to inform himself, has no hesitation in expressing the opinion that it is not humane to send emigrants indiscriminately to Liberia; and, except in case of peculiar fitness, he would not recommend the sending of emigrants who have no means of support other than that which the Colonization Society can furnish.

† Thousands of dollars are annually remitted by the Irish in America to their friends in Ireland, to pay for the transportation of the latter to the United States. A similar process was begun in Liberia; and will increase. This fact explodes the objection suggested by the expense of colonizing our free blacks.

But it is said, that colonizationists have affinities with Abolitionists. This charge we unequivocally and indignantly deny. To refute it, it is only necessary to refer to the fundamental article in the constitution of the Society, which declares *its exclusive design* to be the removal of the *free colored people*, with their own consent, to Africa. We challenge the production of a single official act or sentiment of the Virginia Society inconsistent with this principle. On the contrary, this Society has taken every fit occasion of reiterating those principles.* In the very heat of the abolition debate in 1832, in the General Assembly, when so many wise men were swept from their moorings by the anti-slavery tide, this Society met in the Capitol at Richmond, and passed unanimously the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That we deem it expedient at this time to renew our pledges strictly to adhere to that *original feature* of our constitution which confines its operations to the removal of *the free people of color only*, with their own consent." Again, it is a significant fact, that during this debate, which, in the language of the Richmond Enquirer, "had broken the seals which had been put for fifty years upon the most delicate subject of State concernment," the most prominent colonizationists in the House, as Broadnax, Gholson, Brown, and others, *were the leaders on the anti-emancipation side.* At the same time, Garrison, the arch-fiend of Abolitionism, published a book in which he maintained and illustrated the following proposition: "the Colonization Society is the friend of the slaveholder, and the apologist of slavery: it is the enemy of immediate emancipation: it traduces the free colored people, and would exile them from their native land: it rivets the chains of the slave, and quiets the conscience of the slaveholder." In a tract issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society, it is objected to the Colonization Society, that it had its origin in Virginia: "that its first President was Judge Washington of Virginia: that its managers were owners of slaves:" that John Randolph said, "it tended to secure the master's property in slaves:" that Henry Clay said, "I am a slaveholder, and consider that kind of property as inviolable as any other:" that W. S. Archer said, "it involves no intrusion on property, nor even on prejudice:" that Henry A. Wise said, "the original principle of the Society was friendship to the slaveholder:" that its managers say, "we are restrained by the terms of our association from making emancipation an object: the rights of masters are sacred in our eyes; and it would be as humane to throw negroes overboard, as to free them in this country:" that its first President, Washington, sold fifty of his slaves in New Orleans: that its second President, Chas. Carroll, bequeathed 1,000 slaves at his death: that Henry Clay "left his slaves in bondage twenty-five years, and then to be sent to Liberia:" that colonization "retards emancipation, and enhances the value of slaves:" and finally, "that the enemies of slavery were the enemies of colonization."

The Hon. Henry A. Wise, in 1838, thus graphically contrasts the principles of Abolition and Colonization: "The Abolition Society denounces slavery as a sin, summons the abstract principles of right and justice, and an imaginary law of Heaven, to destroy the holiest obligations of political right and justice, founded upon constitutional compact: appeals to prejudices and passions the most dangerous because the most fanatical; influences the public mind by threatening to demolish all social relations; arouses religious zeal in a crusade against peace and order and union: preaches insurrection to the slave, and calumniates and curses the slaveholder: opposes the colonization of the free man of color in a land where he may be the fellow of man; and proposes his amalgamation here, in the land of his degradation, with those to whom the association is abhorrent and revolting. The Colonization Society sacredly regards

* See "Virginian History of African Colonization," *passim.*

slavery as a civil institution of the country which, upon the principle of the lesser yielding to the greater good, cannot be attacked by the law of humanity, and must be sustained from reasons of policy: defends all the eternal principles of right, and religiously promotes the obvious decrees of heaven, while it faithfully obeys the laws of the State: appeals to the reason and enlightened consciences of men; and to that peaceful religion which ever interposes to ameliorate the condition of all men: hushes discord, and by a charm preserves our peace by reconciling our moral duties with our political rights and interests: invokes the love of union; teaches obedience of servants: inspires the slaveholder with confidence, and addresses itself alone to his affections: guards his title to his property, and its enjoyment; and thus obtains for the slave indulgence which the slackened cord of confidence yields without fear; incidentally facilitates voluntary emancipation by sloughing off the free colored people, always in the way of freedom to the slave: *and is a sword to pierce Abolitionism.* And above all these special benefits, its *great aim* is that which makes the grandeur of its cause rise to sublimity,—to make light shine out of darkness, to colonize a nation of freemen in their fartherland, out of our kitchens of slaves."

The charge of abolition affinities against the Colonization Society, derives its semblance of plausibility from the fact that some colonizationists have advocated the society as a means of ultimately extinguishing the institution, and some sentences have inadvertently crept into the documents of the American Society suggesting schemes of emancipation. But these were private opinions, and not authorized expositions of the principles of the society. To obviate such occurrences in future, the Rev. Mr. Slaughter, one of the delegates from Virginia, at the last anniversary of the American Society, offered the following resolutions, which were passed with but one dissenting voice in a board composed of representatives of all the State Societies. "Whereas, the exclusive design of the Colonization Society, as declared in its constitution, is to remove the *free colored people*; and whereas, in carrying out this principle it has been ordered that all suggestions and schemes of emancipation shall be excluded from the documents of this society: and whereas, it is necessary to the consummation of this policy that the same principle should be applied to the conduct of our public meetings; therefore, *Resolved*, That the executive committee should have strict regard to this principle in all arrangements for our public meetings." When the State of Virginia shall succeed in inducing Congress to pass such conservative resolutions, it will be time enough for a Virginian to cast the first stone at the Colonization Society.*

We respectfully submit, that the foregoing facts and reasonings show that the chief political objections to the Colonization Society have arisen from a misapprehension of its history and principles, and go far to establish the conclusion that the "Divinity that shapes our ends" has shut us up to this policy as a political and social necessity. They also beautifully illustrate the sagacity of the framers of our machine of self-government; who seem to have foreseen all the results of its wonderful workings, and provided such guards as would best tend to give it "perpetual motion.†

What a blessing it would be to our distracted country, if all the American people would adopt the views of Jefferson,

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* It might be added, that the *American* is not the *Virginian* Society, and that the latter is no more responsible for the acts of the former, than the State of Virginia is responsible for the acts of the Congress of the United States.

† If any scheme of policy is thoroughly Virginian, it is the scheme of African Colonization. We have seen it suggested by Jefferson; its nurture by Monroe, Madison and Marshall; by the General Assemblies of 1800, 1802, 1804, 1805 and 1816. If our space sufficed, we would adduce the acts of Assembly in 1825 and 1828; of 1833, 1849 and 1853; and cite the commendations of Govs. Tyler, McDowell, Gilmer, Floyd, Pleasants, Smith, Johnson and Wise, and of other eminent Virginians.

Madison, Monroe and Marshall, and rally round the Colonization Society, as *the only rational and peaceful solution of the vexed question of Africa in America.* We have no hope of extremists on either side; but surely the majority of the American people are rational and patriotic men; and we would invoke in the name of that constellation of great men who illuminate our records, all who respect themthemselves, who respect the rights of persons and of property, the rights of the States and the union of the States, to come together upon this conservative and constitutional platform. Abolitionists are a one-idea party, demented about an abstraction, without the slightest reference to the modifications which every principle undergoes in practical and complicated application. They are compelled to admit that abstractions are often wholly reversed in practice. You may hear them urging that, whilst "thou shalt not kill" is a true law in morals and religion, yet killing may become an imperative duty in certain circumstances. "And yet these men seize hold of the abstraction that all men are free and equal, and run it like a ploughshare through society;" releasing the wife from the husband, the citizen from the sovereign, and the servant from the master; until humanity, which had been washed in the baptism of christianity, shall again wallow in the mire of barbarian licentiousness. "They run their fiery abstraction into the leaves of the bible; and if it testify not to the *one* idea, it must be burnt like a witch." Again, the ungodly constitutions by which slavery is tolerated must be torn down, and society be reconstructed upon free and socialistic principles.

Now, to meet and overthrow these mischievous fallacies, it is not necessary to take our position at the opposite extreme. We need not deny the unity of the human race, and, excluding the negro from the pale of the human family, degrade him to the level of the monkey, thus contradicting the word of God, which says that He "has made of one blood all the nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth." Neither is it necessary to pour contempt upon all abstractions. Truth, justice, God himself, are abstractions; and these have their proper place in the world, and their proper functions in moral reasoning. The maxim *in medio tutissimus ibis* applies here. The truth, as we apprehend, will be found in a brief and perspicuous exposition contained in a late letter to ourselves by the most profound and comprehensive thinker in Virginia. He says: "When Christ came into the world, it was full of kingdoms. That these should be held together was indispensable to the existence and progress of society. Society cannot advance *per saltum;* it must advance by degrees. So, also, it must be improved for the most part by a power operating from *within.* External ameliorations which outrun the internal, do no good; witness the South-American republics, and the history of France. To improve society, we must plant the principle of improvement within it, and let it leisurely and without violence work itself out to the surface; amending last of all the municipal arrangements. This is the general rule. Now, Christ came to set up a kingdom *not* of this world. It was not of the same class with existing kingdoms; it was not to be their rival nor their fellow. It was to be comprehensive of them all; taking possession of them, and leaving them all their external features and peculiarities, except as these might be *gradually* and *silently* modified by its permeating and all-pervading influence. Among these external relations, I set down war, the political relations of men, domestic slavery, and, in a certain sense, divorce. Now, in regard to these, there is a certain *ideal state* which all would call perfection, and which may be realized, perhaps, in the Millennial times, and in the meantime to be approximated. This state we would call absolute right, and it consists in the total removal of some of the things named, and the modification of others. To bring about this state of things, so far as the present time is concerned, was the object of the setting up of Christ's kingdom. And that object will not fail. It may tarry, but it will come at last. But how is Christianity to realize in the *actual*,

this beautiful and infinitely desirable *ideal?* It must not precipitate matters; that would prove disastrous. It would be like plucking up the tares before the proper time. As the defects and abuses of society referred to are *governmental*, to assail them directly would be to bring the kingdom of Christ in direct collision with the kingdom of this world; which would be most pernicious several ways. Humanly speaking, it would exterminate the church of Christ; for men would fight against it without restraint of conscience; looking at it as a mere earthly interest. Aside from this, the effect upon the world itself would be most blinding: Christ's kingdom is not wealth, nor political sagacity, nor military prowess; but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Above all, it would set aside those positive precepts which Christ has given in regard to the powers that may be over us. In all this, Christianity is regarding the *expedient*. Just as divorce was allowed to the Jews, though the true idea, the *right*, in regard to marriage, was otherwise; so christianity forbears to *press* things which it hopes to see realized hereafter in the world. In fixing her eye on the *right*, she maintains a high aim, and makes provision for progress: in regulating the pursuit of that object by the expedient, she has a wise reference to the nature of man and the condition of the world, as fallen; and takes care that the progress shall not be checked. *Right* gives an onward motion to the car; expediency keeps it from running off the track. Each is indispensable in its place; neither can be omitted: nor can their order and mutual relations be interfered with without consequences which self-love, benevolence and conscience must recoil from. To present the subject properly would require much explanation and expansion; and if I was writing to one who could read what I have written in a captious spirit, I would add many limitations, checks and illustrations." These are words of wisdom. They are like apples of gold in pictures of silver. If they could be incorporated into the creed of the American people, they would explode into air the ultraisms in which our land is so fruitful. Political, ecclesiastical and socialistic agitators would learn the folly of attempting to realize in the actual of this "day and generation," the beautiful ideal of the millenial state. The development of humanity cannot be forced as gardener's force plants in a hot-house. Normal developments are more gradual. The application of these principles to the subject is plain. If slavery be an evil it cannot be cured in a generation without inflicting greater evils. External ameliorations which outrun the internal are mischievous. Let us rather adore that God whose woundrous alchemy "out of evil educes good." Let New Englanders ponder the words of Webster when speaking on this subject he said, "I sometimes contemplate with amazement and adoration events which have occurred through the cupidity and criminality of men, designed nevertheless by their Creator to work out great ends of beneficence." And Virginians should heed the words of Jefferson, when he said "In the disposition of these unfortunate people the first rational object to be distinctly kept in view is the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa which may introduce among the Aborigines the arts of civilization and science and thus render them more good than evil in the long run."

What is to be the destiny of the entire black population in America we cannot tell. The statistics of the census show that they are gravitating towards the tropics in a current as steady as the flow of the Mississippi. Many of them will doubtless long linger in the land of the sugar-cane and cotton-plant. With the Anglo Saxon for their guide, they may pass the Isthmus and spread over the valley of the Amazon, or like the crew of the fabled Phantom ship, they may be

> Wanderers o'er eternity,
> Whose bark rides on and on,
> And anchored ne'er shall be.

That the destination of many of them is Africa, we have no doubt. In the mean time we are comforted by the conviction that their bondage here has been a blessing to them and is fraught with blessings

to their fatherland. In the energetic language of H. A. Wise, "however criminal may have been the traders who from lust of gold brought them here, the slaves in the United States are in bodily comfort, civilization, christianity and actual personal freedom, worth all the principalities, powers and people of Africa; and slavery in the United States has been the most efficient missionary to the Heathen in the last two centuries. Not by going to Africa and rearing altars there at first, but by bringing their fathers here and preparing priests to go back to Africa and bear the christian torches through the darkness of her night. The black missionary to black Africa, like to like. And the Colony of Liberia coming directly out of slavery is another trophy far exceeding that of any similar moral enterprise of the age. These results are worth all the sufferings and burdens of their savage ancestors, who would have expired without bearing fruits meet to repair their country and race for the *evil* out of which has come good enough to justify the ways of God to the master and to the slave. The destiny of the black population of the United States is towards Africa, my authority is God's providence against futile and impious attempts of human Babel builders upon earth. His servants had better be about their master's work."

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THE VIRGINIAN

HISTORY OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

Chapter I.

Who knows not that truth is next to the Almighty. Give her but room and do not bind her. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew truth to be put to the worst in a free and open encounter.—*Milton.*

History of Colonization from the first suggestion of the idea by Thomas Jefferson, in 1776. *Through all its modifications by the General Assemblies of Virginia in* 1800, 1802, 1804 *and* 1816, *until its full development in the American Colonization Society, at Washington, in* 1817—*including the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, with Monroe and Page, Governors of Virginia.*

It is curious to see how an idea, thrown out by a great mind, goes on revolving in the world, setting other minds to work and from the contact receiving new directions and impulses, until it expands into a scheme of policy deeply affecting the fate not merely of individuals, but of continents and races of men. Just as we have seen a small stream of water springing from a mountain side and flowing at first with a force barely sufficient to overcome the pebbles it meets in its way, yet after receiving tributaries from other sources, acquires a resistless might which sweeps away all opposing obstacles, and mingles with the world of waters whose tides beat upon every shore.

The scheme of African Colonization is such an idea. Springing from the germinant genius of Thomas Jefferson, it has gradually made its way into legislative halls and Christian churches, and is now attracting the attention and challenging the regard of the civilized world.

In the General Assembly of 1776, a committee was appointed to revise the laws of the State. This committee consisted of Tho. Jefferson. Edmund Pendleton. Geo. Wythe, George Mason and Ludwell Lee. Mr. Jefferson tells us that he prepared an amendment to be submitted to this committee proposing a comprehensive plan of Colonization. The committee, we believe, did not report until 1785, when Mr. Jefferson was in France and Pendleton and Wythe upon the bench.

The seed of Colonization was nevertheless sown and soon began to germinate. In 1787, Dr. Thornton (of Virginia) published an address to the free negroes, offering to lead them in person to Africa.

This being the suggestion of a private individual, had no visible results. The subject was still working unseen in the minds of men, and after the lapse of thirteen years, it reappeared in the public councils. It is an interesting study to trace it through all its phases, as it gradually wrought itself out into a definite form. This we are happily enabled to do by public documents, the first of which is a resolution of the House of Delegates, which was passed almost unanimously and in the following words:

In the House of Delegates, December 31, 1800.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this State, whither persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed.

A copy from the House of Delegates.

WILLIAM WIRT, *Clerk H. D.*

This resolution is somewhat obscure. The House of Delegates seemed to hesitate in giving full expression to all that was in their minds. It needs a key to unlock its meaning. The Letters of Jefferson and Monroe, and the explanation of the House in 1802 supplies this key.

Mr Monroe, being then Governor of Virginia, in compliance with the foregoing reso-

lution, addressed the following letter to Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States:

Richmond, June 15, 1801.

Sir: I enclose you a resolution of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth, of the last session, by which it is made my duty to correspond with you on the subject of obtaining, by purchase, lands without the limits of this State to which persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed. This resolution was produced by the conspiracy of the slaves which took place in this city and neighbourhood last year, and is applicable to that description only. The idea of such an acquisition was suggested by motives of humanity, it being intended by means thereof to provide an alternate mode of punishment for those described by the resolution, who, under the existing law, might be doomed to suffer death. It was deemed more humane, and, it is hoped, would be found in practice not less expedient, to transport such offenders beyond the limits of the State.

It seems to be the more obvious intention of the Legislature, as inferred from the resolution, to make the proposed acquisition of land in the vacant Western territory of the United States; but it does not appear to me to preclude one without the limits of the Union. If a friendly Power would designate a tract of country within its jurisdiction, either on this continent or a neighbouring island, to which we might send such persons, it is not improbable the Legislature might prefer it. In any event, an alternative could not be otherwise than desirable, since, after maturely weighing the condition and advantages of each position, the Legislature might still prefer that which appeared to it most eligible.

It is proper to remark, that the latter part of the resolution, which proposes the removal of such persons as are dangerous to the peace of society, may be understood as comprising many to whom the preceding member does not apply. Whether the Legislature intended to give it a more extensive import, or, rather, whether it contemplated removing from the country any but culprits condemned to suffer death, I will not pretend to decide. But, if the more enlarged construction of the resolution is deemed the true one, it furnishes, in my opinion, a strong additional motive why the Legislature, in disposing of this great concern, should command an alternative of places. As soon as the mind emerges, in contemplating the subject, beyond the contracted scale of providing a mode of punishment for offenders, vast and interesting objects present themselves to view. It is impossible not to involve in it the condition of those people, the embarrassment they have already occasioned us, and are still likely to subject us to. We perceive an existing evil, which commenced under our colonial system, with which we are not properly chargeable, or, if at all, not in the present degree: and we acknowledge the extreme difficulty in remedying it. At this point the mind rests with suspense, and surveys with anxiety obstacles which become more serious as we approach them. It is in vain for the Legislature to deliberate on the subject, in the extent of which it is capable, with a view to adopt the system of policy which appears to it most wise and just, if it has not the means of executing it. To lead to a sound decision, and make the result a happy one, it is necessary that the field of practicable expedients be opened to its election on the widest possible scale.

Under this view of the subject, I shall be happy to be advised by you whether a tract of land in the Western territory of the United States can be procured for this purpose, in what quarter, and on what terms? And, also, whether a friendly Power will permit us to remove such persons within its limits, with like precision as to the place and conditions? It is possible a friendly Power may be disposed to promote a population of the kind referred to, and willing to facilitate the measure by co-operating with us in the accomplishment of it. It may be convenient for you to sound such Powers, especially those more immediately in our neighborhood, on the subject, in all the views which may appear to you to be suitable.

You will perceive that I invite your attention to a subject of great delicacy and importance, one which, in a peculiar degree, involves the future peace, tranquility, and happiness, of the good people of this Com-

monwealth. I do it, however, in a confidence that you will take that interest in it which we are taught to expect from your conduct through life, which gives you so many high claims to our regard.

With great respect, I have theonour to be, &c., JAMES MONROE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

President of the United States.

Mr. Jefferson's answer to Mr. Monroe's letter is dated November 24, 1801, and is as follows, viz.

Washington, November 24, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I had not been unmindful of your letter of June 15th, covering a resolution of the House of Representatives of Virginia, and referred to in yours of the 17th instant. The importance of the subject, and the belief that it gave us time for consideration till the next meeting of the Legislature, have induced me to defer the answer to this date. You will perceive that some circumstances connected with the subject, and necessarily presenting themselves to view, would be improper but for your and the legislative ear. Their publication might have an ill effect in more than one quarter; in confidence of attention to this, I shall indulge greater freedom in writing.

Common malefactors, I presume, make no part of the object of that resolution. Neither their numbers, nor the nature of their offences, seem to require any provisions beyond those practised heretofore, and found adequate to the repression of ordinary crimes. Conspiracy, insurgency, treason, rebellion, among that description of persons who brought on us the alarm, and on themselves the tragedy of 1800, were doubtless within the view of every one; but many, perhaps, contemplated, and one expression of the resolution might comprehend, a much larger scope. Respect to both opinions makes it my duty to understand the resolution in all the extents of which it is susceptible.

The idea seems to be, to provide for these people by a purchase of land; and it is asked whether such a purchase can be made of the United States, in their Western territory? A very great extent of country north of the Ohio has been laid off into townships, and is now at market, according to the provisions of the acts of Congress, with which you are acquainted. There is nothing which would restrain the State of Virginia, either in the purchase or the application of these lands; but a purchase by the acre might, perhaps, be a more expensive provision than the House of Representatives contemplated. Questions would also arise, whether the establishment of such a colony within our limits, and to become a part of our Union, would be desirable to the State of Virginia itself, or to the other States, especially those who would be in its vicinity?

Could we procure lands beyond the limits of the United States, to form a receptacle for these people? On our Northern boundary the country not occupied by British subjects is the property of Indian nations, whose titles would be to be extinguished, with the consent of Great Britain; and the new settlers would be British subjects. It is hardly to be believed that either Great Britain or the Indian proprietors have so disinterested a regard for us as to be willing to relieve us by receiving such a colony themselves; and as much is it to be doubted whether that race of men could long exist in so rigorous a climate. On our Western and Southern frontiers Spain holds an immense country; the occupancy of which, however, is in the Indian natives, except a few insulated spots possessed by Spanish subjects. It is very questionable, indeed, whether the Indians would sell—and nearly certain that she would not alienate the sovereignty. The same question to ourselves would recur here also as did in the first case: Should we be willing to have such a colony in contact with us? However our precedent interests may restrain us within our own limits, it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand itself beyond those limits, and cover the whole Northern, if not the Southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms and by similar laws. Nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture in that surface. Spain, France, and Portugal, hold possessions on the Southern continent, as to which I am not well enough informed to say how far they might meet our views. But either there or in the Northern continent.

should the constituted authorities of Virginia fix their attention of preference, I will have the dispositions of those Powers sounded in the first instance.

The West Indies offer a more probable and practical retreat for them. Inhabited already by a people of their own race and colour—climates congenial with their natural constitution, insulated from the other description of men—nature seems to have formed these islands to become the receptacles of the blacks transplanted into this hemisphere. Whether we could obtain from the European sovereigns of those islands leave to send thither the persons under contemplation, I cannot say; but I think it more probable than the former proposition, because of their being already inhabited more or less by the same race. The most promising portion of them is the island of St. Domingo, where the blacks are established into a sovereignty de facto, and have organized themselves under regular laws and government. I should conjecture that their present ruler might be willing on many considerations to receive even that description which would be exiled for acts deemed criminal by us, but meritorious perhaps by him. The possibility that these exiles might stimulate and conduct vindictive or predatory descents on our coast, and facilitate concert with their brethren remaining here, looks to a state of things between that island and us not probable, on a contemplation of our relative strength, and of the disproportion daily growing; and it is overweighed by the humanity of the measures proposed, and the advantages of disembarrassing ourselves of such dangerous characters. Africa would offer a last and undoubted resort, if all others more desirable should fail us. Whenever the Legislature of Virginia shall have brought its mind to a point, so that I may know exactly what to propose to foreign authorities, I will execute their wishes with fidelity and zeal. I hope, however, they will pardon me for suggesting a single question for their own consideration. When we contemplate the variety of countries and of sovereigns towards which we may direct our views, the vast revolutions and changes of circumstances which are now in a course of progression, the possibilities that arrangements now to be made with a view to any particular place may at no great distance of time be totally deranged by a change of sovereignty, of government, or of other circumstances, it will be for the Legislature to consider whether, after they shall have made all those general provisions which may be fixed by legislative authority, it would be reposing too much confidence in their Executive to leave the place of relegation to be decided on by them, and executed with the aid of the Federal Executive? They could accommodate their arrangements to the actual state of things in which countries or powers may be found to exist at that day, and may prevent the effect of the law from being defeated by intervening changes. This, however, is for them to decide. Our duty will be to respect their decision.

Accept assurances, &c.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Governor Monroe.

From this letter we learn that Mr. Jefferson gave the resolution of 1800 a broader construction than its terms express. He doubtless had information from private sources of the views of members, and therefore he said, "That respect to all opinions made it his duty to understand the resolution in all the extents of which it is susceptible."

Upon the reception of Mr. Jefferson's letter, Mr. Monroe communicated it to the House of Delegates, accompanied with the following message, evidently intended to elicit a more full expression of the object which they had in view, in their first resolution. The message is as follows:

Sir: I have the pleasure to communicate to the General Assembly a copy of my correspondence with the President of the United States, in compliance with the resolution of 31st December last, relative to the purchase of lands without the limits of the State, to which persons obnoxious to its laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed. As it was known that the United States had lands for sale in the territory lying between the Ohio and Mississippi, a proposition to make the acquisition by purchase conveyed the idea of a preference for a tract in that quarter: but as such preference was not declared, and a liberal construction of the resolution admitted a greater scope, I

thought it my duty to open the subject in that light to the President. His reply has stated fully and ably the objections which occur to such an establishment within the limits of the United States. He also presents to view all the other places, on the continent and elsewhere, which furnish alternatives, with the advantages attending each, and assures us of the promptitude that he will cooperate in carrying into effect whatever plan the Legislature may adopt in reference to the object contemplated. It remains, therefore, for the General Assembly to explain more fully the description of persons who are to be thus transported, and the place to which it is disposed to give the preference. As soon as its sense is declared on these points, I shall hasten to communicate the same to the President, and shall not fail to lay the result before you at your next session. It is proper to add, that it is the wish of the President that the communication be considered as confidential.

I am, sir, with great respect and esteem, your very humble servant,

JAMES MONROE.

This led to the following explanation by the House of Delegates, passed January 16, 1802, and agreed to by the Senate, January 23, 1802.

In the House of Delegates, Saturday, January 16 1802.

The Legislature of the Commonwealth, by their resolution of December last, having authorized the Governor to correspond with the President of the United States relative to the purchase of lands without the limits of this State, to which persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society might be removed, from which general expressions a difference of construction has prevailed, to reconcile which, recourse must be had to the actual state of things which produced the resolution; therefore, resolved, that, as the resolution was not intended to embrace offenders for ordinary crimes, to which the laws have been found equal, but only those for conspiracy, insurgency, treason, and rebellion, among those particular persons who produced the alarm in this State in the fall of 1800, the Governor be requested, in carrying the said resolution into effect upon the construction here given, to request the President of the United States, in procuring the lands, to prefer the continent of Africa, or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America.

Resolved, also, that the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to which free negroes or mulattoes, and such negroes or mulattoes as may be emancipated, may be sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum: and that it is not the wish of the Legislature to obtain, on behalf of those who may remove or be sent thither, the sovereignty of such place. Resolved, also, that the Governor lay before the next General Assembly the result of his communication, to be subject to their control.

WILLIAM WIRT, *C. H. D.*

January 23, 1802.—Agreed to by the Senate.

H. BROOKE, *C. S.*

A copy.—Test:

JAMES PLEASANTS, Jr. *C. H. D.*

Here, for the first time, the meaning of the House of Delegates distinctly emerges into view, and Mr. Jefferson's broad construction of the resolution of 1800, is proved to have been sound. These resolutions contain the whole idea of the Colonization Society as it is now embodied. Measures are proposed for obtaining a place without the limits of the United States, to which free negroes and mulattoes and such as may be emancipated, may be sent, or choose to remove, as an Asylum, and Africa is designated as the place.

Here the matter seems to have rested, until the year 1804, when Mr. Jefferson addressed a letter to Mr. Page, the then governor of Virginia, in which he himself relinquishes the idea of St. Domingo, and speaks of the territory of Louisiana, just purchased by the American government. The letter is as follows:

Washington, December 27, 1804.

Dear Sir: Resuming the subject of the resolutions of the House of Delegates of December 31st, 1800, January 16th, 1802, and February 3d, 1804, I have it not in my power to say that any change of circumstances

has taken place which enables me yet to propose any specific asylum for the persons who are the subjests of our correspondence. The island of St. Domingo, our nearest and most convenient recourse, is too unsettled in the conditions of its existence to be looked to as yet for any permanent arrangements; and the European nations have territories in the same quarter, and possess the same kind of population. Whether the inhabitants of our late acquisition beyond the Mississippi, or the National Legislature, would consent that a portion of that country should be set apart for the persons contemplated, is not within my competence to say.

My last information as to Sierra Leone is, that the company was proposing to deliver up their colony to their Government. Should this take place, it might furnish occasion for another effort to procure an incorporation of ours into it. An attack during the war has done the settlement considerable injury.

I beg you to be assured that, having the object of the House of Delegates sincerely at heart, I will keep it under my constant attention, and omit no occasion which may occur of giving it effect.

Accept my affectionate salutations, and assurances of great respect and consideration.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Governor Page.

This letter led to the following resolution of the House of Delegates, dated December 3, 1804, and agreed to by the Senate, January 22, 1805.

General Assembly begun and held at the Capitol in the city of Richmond, Virginia, on Monday the third day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the Commonwealth the twenty-ninth:

Resolved, That the Senators of this State in the Congress of the United States be instructed, and the Representatives be requested, to exert their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of territory, in the country of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of colour as have been or shall be emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety: *Provided,* That no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth until ratified by the Legislature.

H. HOLMES,
Speaker of the House of Delegates.

Agreed to January 22d, 1805.

C. TAYLOR,
Speaker of the Senate.

A copy.—Test:

JAMES PLEASANTS, Jr., *C. H. D.*

On the suggestion contained in Mr. Jefferson's letter, the Legislature had their attention entirely turned to a portion of the vacant territory of Louisiana. And as their resolution contained instructions to the senators in Congress, and a request to the representatives of the State, to endeavour to procure such a territory, it was sent by Governor Page to them, accompanied by the following note, viz.

Richmond, February 2, 1805.

Gentlemen: I have the honour to enclose a resolution of the General Assembly, for an explanation of which I beg leave to refer you to the copies of letters which passed between the President of the United States and Governor Monroe, and to one written by the President to me, and by this mail transmitted to our Senators in Congress; but, for more satisfactory information, I would refer you to the President himself, to whom I shall apologize for requesting you to trouble him on this occasion; but I know that he will with pleasure give you all the information you may require. From the nature of the delicate business contemplated in the resolution, you will see the propriety of its being considered confidential.

I am gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN PAGE.

The Representatives from Virginia in Congress.

Our difficulties with France and England now superseded and arrested, at this point, those interesting proceedings. But there was at least one eminent politician whose mind was not diverted from the contemplation of this important subject by the approaching war with England. This fact, with other items of information, is disclosed in a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Lynd upon

the subject of Ann Mifflin's project of a colony in Africa. The letter is as follows—

Monticello, January 21, 1811.

Sir: You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Ann Mifflin, to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa an establishment to which the people of colour of these States might, from time to time, be colonized, under the auspices of different governments. Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying that I have ever thought *that the most desirable measures which could be adopted* for gradually drawing off this part of our population—most advantageous for themselves as well as for us. Going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa; and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seeds of civilization, which might render their sojournment here a blessing in the end to that country.

I received, in the *last* year of my entering into the administration of the general government, a letter from the Governor of Virginia, consulting me, at the request of the Legislature of the State, on the means of procuring some such asylum, to which these people might be occasionally sent. I proposed to him the establishment of Sierra Leone, in which a private company in England had already colonized a number of negroes, and particularly the fugitives from these States during the revolutionary war; and at the same time suggested, if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese in South America as most desirable.

The subsequent Legislature approving these ideas, I wrote the ensuing year (1802) to Mr King, our minister in London, to endeavour to negotiate with the Sierra Leone company, and induce them to receive such of these people as might be colonized thither. He opened a correspondence with Mr. W—— and Mr. Thornton, secretary of the company, on the subject; and, in 1803, I received, through Mr. King, the result; which was that the colony was going on in but a languishing condition; that the funds of the company were likely to fail, as they received no return of profit to keep them up; that they were then in treaty with the government to take the establishment off their hands; but that in no event should they be willing to receive more of these people from the United States, as it was that portion of settlers who had gone from the United States, who, by their idleness and turbulence, had kept the settlement in constant danger of dissolution, which could not have been prevented, but for the aid of the Maroon negroes from the West Indies, who were more industrious and orderly than the others, and supported the authority of the government and its laws.

I think I learned afterwards that the British government had taken the colony into their own hands, and I believe it still exists.

The effort which I made with Portugal, to obtain an establishment from them, within their colonies in South America, proved also abortive.

You inquired, further, "whether I would use my endeavours to procure such an establishment, secure against violence from other powers, and particularly the French." *Certainly, I shall be willing to do any thing I can* to give it effect and safety.

But I am but a private individual, and could only use endeavours with individuals: whereas the *National Government* can address themselves at once to those of Europe, to obtain the desired security, and will unquestionably be ready to exert its influence with those nations to effect an object so benevolent in itself, and so important to a great portion of its constituents; indeed, *nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*

Exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray *all its expenses;* but for this the national mind is not prepared. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether many of these people would voluntarily consent to such an exchange of situation, and but few of those who are advanced to a certain age in habits of slavery would be capable of governing themselves. This should not, however, discourage the experiment, nor the early trial of it. And propositions should be made, with all the prudent caution and attention

requisite to reconcile it to the interest, the safety, and prejudice of all parties.

Accept the assurance of my respect and esteem.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

A treaty of peace having been concluded with Great Britain, in 1815, the public mind reverted with renewed interest to the subject of Colonization. Charles Fenton Mercer was at that time a member of the House of Delegates. He accidentally became acquainted with the acts of the Legislature in secret session of 1800, 1802 and 1804. He imputed the failure of those resolutions to the secresy with which they were passed, and determined, if re-elected, that he would renew them at the next session. The Legislature adjourned on the 29th of February, 1816.

After the adjournment, he went to Washington, where he met with Elias B. Caldwell and Francis S. Key, to whom he communicated his intentions. They promised their co-operation. Mr. Key said, if necessary he would if possible get a seat in the Legislature of Maryland and offer similar resolutions. The Legislature of Virginia reassembled on the 17th of November, 1816. Mr. Mercer moved his resolutions on the 12th of December, preceding his motion, (for greater dispatch,) with one to close the doors of the House. After a day's debate, the resolutions were adopted by a majority of 137 votes out of 146. On the 11th of December, the injunction of secresy was removed, and the resolutions were sent to the Senate and passed that body on the 23d of December with but one dissenting voice. The resolutions are as follows:

"Whereas the General Assembly of Virginia has repeatedly sought to obtain an Asylum beyond the limits of the United States for such persons of color as have been, or may be, emancipated under the laws of this commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated either by the disturbed state of other nations, or by domestic causes equally unpropitious, they now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity and the principal nations of Europe have agreed with the government of the United States in abolishing the African slave trade, (a traffic which this commonwealth, both before and after the Revolution, zealously sought to extirpate,) to renew this effort,

Therefore, *Resolved*, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the States, or territories of the United States, to serve for an asylum of such persons of color as are now free, and desire the same, and for those who may be hereafter emancipated within this commonwealth, and that the Senate and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States be requested to exert their best efforts to aid in the attainment of the above object.

St. G. Tucker, C. H. D., and
Keeper of the Rolls of Va."

In the meantime Francis Key, Bishop Meade, Dr. Findley and others, had been pondering the subject of African Colonization. These, with Elias B. Caldwell and other persons of like minds, assembled in the city of Washington on the 21st of December of the same year, and recommended the formation of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Clay presided at the meeting, and stirring addresses were made by him, and by Messrs. Caldwell and Randolph of Roanoke. A Committee was appointed to present a memorial to Congress. John Randolph was on that committee. The Society held its first meeting on the 27th of January, 1817, and elected its officers. Judge Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, was made President, and among the Vice-President's were Clay, Crawford, Jackson, Meade, and John Taylor of Virginia.

CHAPTER II.

The agency of James Monroe in the plantation of the Colony of Liberia.

It was a happy coincidence that the year of the formation of the Colonization Society, was the year of James Monroe's accession to the presidency of the United States. We have seen in the preceding narrative, Mr. Monroe's active co-operation while Governor of Virginia, with Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, in stimulating and shaping those acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, which led to the formation of the Colonization Society. We shall now see his agency in a new and higher sphere, in executing those laws of Congress which resulted in and were, perhaps, indispensable to the establishment of the colony itself. In these events we shall discover another example of the apparent superintendence of Divine Providence over this whole scheme, in making individuals and States, Politicians and Christians, each moved perhaps by a different reason, co-operate in bringing about one result.

It was hardly possible for a private society, with small pecuniary resources, and working with such rude materials, to make a permanent plantation upon a distant and barbarous shore. The Society had already borrowed money to pay the expenses of Messrs. Mills and Burgess in searching for a site for the colony. To replace this money, Charles Fenton Mercer procured, by personal solicitations in Baltimore, the sum of $4,500, and Bishop Meade raised a still larger sum in Virginia. After discharging this debt, the sum remaining in the treasury of the society was utterly inadequate to the proposed enterprise, even if a private association had been competent to effect the necessary negotiations with foreign powers. It was not likely that the government of the United States would take the responsibility of such a measure, although Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Marshall all concurred in the opinion of its expediency and constitutionality.

But that Divine Providence, whose ways are not as our ways, had, (as it seems to our short sight,) laid far back in the legislation of Congress a train of causes, whose effects made it the interest of the Government of the United States to co-operate with the Colonization Society.

The Constitution of the United States denied to Congress the power of prohibiting the importation of Slaves into this country, until the year 1808. Anticipating this period, Congress, in 1807, passed an act prohibiting the slave-trade. This act was to go into operation in 1808, so soon as the Constitutional limitation expired.

This law, while it imposed heavy penalties upon all persons who should buy or sell any recaptured African, also contained a provision placing those captives who should be brought into the territory of any particular State, in the power of the Legislature of such State, to be disposed of at its pleasure.

Under this provision, the Legislatures of several Southern States actually sold a number of recaptured Africans.

Wm. H. Crawford, then Secretary of the Treasury, informed the Colonization Society that the State of Georgia had recently sold a number of those Africans, who had been recaptured under the law of 1808, the proceeds of whose sale, amounting to $50,000, was then in the Treasury of the State unappropriated, and that there was a company of them then advertised for sale. Mr. Crawford, who was a Vice-President of the Society, advised it to send an Agent to Georgia to solicit a release of these captives, and the transfer of the $50,000 to their treasury. Bishop Meade kindly volunteered for this mission.

A law of Georgia had provided that if previous to the sale of any recaptured Africans the Colonization Society would undertake to convey them to Africa, they should be delivered to the Society.

Bishop Meade succeeded in releasing the captives, but not in recovering the money.

Charles Fenton Mercer, the neighbour and personal friend of Mr. Monroe, called the attention of the President to the inconsistency of the titles of the Acts of Congress of 1808 and 1818, with these proceedings in Georgia.

Mr. Mercer in cooperation with his col-

league, Dr. Floyd of Virginia, had a bill reported in Congress, repealing those provisions, which enabled a State to defeat the intention of a law of Congress. This bill became the law of 1819, which committed all recaptured Africans to the custody of the Marshals of the United States, until they could be returned to their own country. It also authorized the President of the United States to appoint Agents upon the Coast of Africa to receive them, and appropriated $100,000 to carry its provisions into effect.

It will be perceived that the Legislation of Congress had devolved upon the government of the United States a necessity for providing an Asylum for recaptured Africans. It thus became the interest of the General Government, in carrying out its own policy, to cooperate with the Colonization Society, whose benevolent designs were just ripe for execution.

We cannot tell how it strikes others, but for ourselves we recognize with reverence in these proceedings, what seem to us unmistakeable indications of a Divine Providence presiding over and "shaping the ends" of individuals and of Nations.

It was fortunate for humanity, and especially for America and Africa, that the execution of this law devolved upon James Monroe. This good man put a liberal interpretation upon this act of Congress, as he had previously done upon an act of the General Assembly of Virginia. He communicated his interpretation to Congress and with its acquiescence, he carried the law into effect, by placing in the hands of the Society's Agent, Mr. Bacon, a large sum of money before the sailing of the Elizabeth with the first company of emigrants. The Exploring Agents had selected the isle of Sherbro as the site of the Colony, and thither the first emigrants were conveyed. The heroism of this little company in volunteering as the pioneers of this bold adventure, has a sublime moral, which perhaps in after times may be fitly commemorated by the muse of History.

The Agents of the Society and of the Government, with about twenty of this little company, soon fell victims to the climate and the treachery of the natives. The survivors fled to Sierra Leone. At this crisis the cause of Colonization again felt the beneficent effects of Mr. Monroe's liberal construction of the law, which it was his duty to execute.

"When the Elizabeth had been wrecked, their stores exhausted and hope had well nigh gone, Capt. Wadsworth of the Navy, under the orders of the President, came to their relief. He repaired their schooner and from his own stores and those of his brother officers, he supplied their immediate wants and reanimated their hopes. Under like orders Captain (now Commodore) Stockton, in company with the United States' Agent, Dr. Ayres, purchased the present site of the Colony and removed the remaining colonists to it. Capt. Spence who succeeded him, with like orders, built for them a stone tower to protect them against the infuriated natives and left them in security and comfort."*

It was not without reason that Chancellor Harper, "one of the first orators that Virginia, his native State, ever produced," paid to Mr. Monroe the following just tribute at a meeting in the capitol at Washington in 1824.

I will now (the colony had just been named Liberia) offer another resolution, with a different object. It is not only to give a name to the principal town in our infant settlement, but at the same time to mark our gratitude to that venerable and distinguished man to whom it is more indebted than to any other single man. It is perfectly well known that but for the wise and liberal use he has been pleased to make of the great power confided to him, all our efforts would have been unavailing. As an acknowledgment of his high services, I make the following motion:

Resolved, That the town laid out and established at Liberia, shall be called and known by the name of Monrovia, as an acknowledgment of the important benefits conferred on the settlement by the present illustrious Chief Magistrate of the United States.

* Speech of General Mercer, to whom we are indebted for many of the foregoing facts in the history of events, of which he might say with truth, *quorum magna pars fui*.

Chapter III.

The Era of Auxiliary Societies in Virginia.

I think it not premature for us to promise, that if before many years, the authorship of this plan imply responsibility, Virginia will be ready to bear it; if it impart honor Virginia will claim it.--*Speech of Jesse Harrison, of Lynchburg, in* 1828.

The interval of time between the establishment of the American Colonization Society at Washington, in 1817, and the organization of the Colonization Society of Virginia at Richmond, in 1828, as an independent State institution, was the epoch of auxiliary societies. The number of auxiliary societies formed during this time will show what a strong hold this subject had taken on the public mind, and how rapidly and widely it spread until it pervaded the whole commonwealth.

We reproduce the names of the officers and managers of these societies, that the public may see who are entitled to share in the responsibilities of this measure, if it "implies responsibility, or to claim its honors if honors are to be imparted." We are not without hope that these reminiscences of bygone days may stir up the sons to finish the work of which their honored fathers laid the foundations.

AUXILIARY COLONIZATION SOCIETY, RICHMOND.

Chief Justice Marshall, *President.*

James Pleasants, John Tyler, *Vice Pres.*

T. C. Howard, *Secretary.*

B. Brand, *Treasurer.*

Managers.—R. G. Scott, Jno. Rutherfoord, J. H. Eustace, James Blair, D. J. Burr, W. Barret, W. Cowling, J. E. Heath, W. Crane, H. Neilson, &c.

NORFOLK.

James Nimmo, *President.*

Rd. E. Parker, S. Foster, *Vice Pres.*

Managers.—J. McPhail, J. Cowdery, T. C. Broughton, Rev. N. Davis, Rev. H. W. Ducachet, J. French, R. L. Green, S. K. Kollock, D. G. Fisk, Alex. Galt, J. Hendren, R. C. Jennings, H. Shields, R. Soutter, R. B. Starke, H. Woodis.

Wm. Maxwell, *Secretary.*

FREDERICKSBURG.

Judge Lomax, *President.*

John Gray, John Scott, D. Grinnan, Rt. Lewis, *Vice Presidents.*

Managers.—Rev. E. C. McGuire, Dr. W. Browne, W. A. Knox, R. T. Thom, P. Harrison, M. Forbes, J. S. Wellford, John Hart, Sam. Gordon, F. Johnson, W. C. Beale, &c.

PETERSBURG.

Dr. R. Field, *President.*

Rev. A. Syme, Judge May, *Vice Pres.*

G. P. Disosway, *Treasurer.*

Wm. M. Atkinson, *Secretary.*

Managers.—John Grammer, F. G. Yancey, Min. Thrift, W. H. Macfarland, T. Young, E. Pescud, Wm. Clarke, Tho. Robinson, T. Shore, Ben. Rice, A. B. Spooner, J. Taliaferro, Hugh Nelson, Dr. J. C. Pegram.

ALEXANDRIA.

John Roberts, *President.*

Rev. Mr. Harrison, Rev. S. Cornelius, *Vice Presidents.*

Managers.—W. Gregory, T. Smith, T. Sanford, J. Douglas, N. Fitzhugh, John Withers, J. Cornell, J. G. Nichols, Geo. Johnson, C. Page.

ISLE OF WIGHT COUNTY.

Dr. George Butler, *President.*

Dr. Geo. Wilson, Major A. Woodley, *Vice Presidents.*

Col. W. H. Woodley, *Secretary.*

John Womble, *Treasurer.*

HAMPTON.

Rev. John S. Westwood, *President.*

Managers.—Rev. W. Gilliam, L. H. Reed, Sam. Watts.

W. J. Simpkins, *Secretary.*

W. S. Armistead, *Treasurer.*

SUSSEX COUNTY.

John Cargill, *President.*

Major Wm. Parham, *Vice President.*

Col. George Blow, *Secretary.*

W. Parham, *Treasurer.*

ALBEMARLE COUNTY.

General J. H. Cocke, *President.*

Wm. C. Rives, T. W. Gilmer, James Terrell, *Vice Presidents.*

J. B. Carr, *Treasurer.*

KING WILLIAM COUNTY.

John Roane, *President.*

Rev. Robert Semple Rev. A. Broaddus, *Vice Presidents.*

C. W. Taliaferro, *Secretary.*
Dr. W. Gwathmey, *Treasurer.*

DINWIDDIE COUNTY.

D. G. Hatch, *President.*
Wm. B. Thompson, *Vice President.*
R. B. Booth, *Secretary.*
B. Anderson, *Treasurer.*
Managers.—John Atkinson, J. Wainwright, R. C. Booth, D. Muir, W. H. Cousins, J. N. Fisher, R. V. Tucker, S. Thompson, J. H. Harper.

AMHERST COUNTY.

Rev. C. H. Page, *President.*
Wm. Duncan, R. S. Ellis, *Vice Presidents.*
S. R. Davies, *Treasurer.*
S. M. Garland, *Secretary.*
Managers.—E. A. Cabell, H. M. Garland, Wm. Watson, A. B. Davies, Dr. J. P. Brown, W. S. Crawford, Ed. Winston.

BERKLEY COUNTY.

P. C. Pendleton, *President.*
Ed. Colston, M. Locke, *Vice Presidents.*
T. Davis, J. Rogers, *Secretaries.*
J. K. Wilson, *Treasurer.*
Managers.—Alex. Cooper, M. T. Hunter, J. Doll, A. Hibbard, B. C. Wolf, John Strother, Rev. C. C. Kranth, J. T. Brooke, J. M. Brown, A. Sortwell, J. N. Riddle, W. Evans.

NANSEMOND COUNTY.

Jos. Prentiss, *President.*
Rev. J. Keeling, R. Cox, J. Riddick, M. Riddick, *Vice Presidents.*
J. T. Kilby, *Secretary.*
Arthur Smith, *Treasurer.*

BUCKINGHAM COUNTY.

J. M. Walker, *President.*
Rev. T. Burge, *Vice President.*
J. Staples, *Treasurer.* P. B. Phelps.

NELSON COUNTY.

Rev. J. Boyd, *President.*
J. M. Martin, *Vice President.*
Col. A. Brown, *Treasurer.*
James Garland, *Secretary.*
Managers.—Rt. Rives, R. Whitehead, C. Perrow, L. W. Harris, Dr. R. Kincaid, Rev. J. Paul, Rev. J. Shepherd, R. C. Cutler, Lucas P. Thompson.

FLUVANNA COUNTY.

General Cocke, *President.*
E. J. Magruder, Rev. W. Timberlake, B. G. Payne, J. Timberlake, *Vice Presidents.*
Managers.—G. Morris, G. A. Strange, J. Winn, J. Stillman, J. Currin, Dr. G. M. Lewis, Dr. B. M. Jones, C. W. Jones, M. Tutwiler, S. F. Morris.

HARPERS FERRY.

J. Stubblefield, *President.*
Wm. McGuire, A. Beckham, E. Wager, R. Humphreys, *Vice Presidents.*
J. Wark, *Treasurer.*
J. P. McGuire, *Secretary.*

WHEELING.

Noah Zane, *President.*
Rev. W. Wiley, Rev. J. Armstrong, Rev. H. Furlong, J. Harvey, A. Caldwell, *Vice Presidents.*
Managers.—S. Sprigg, E. J. Lee, J. Campbell, R. Simms, A. Woods, J. C. Smith, R. T. Custis, W. F. Peterson, Dr. J. T. Irwin, D. Hubbard, S. McSullen, D. B. Bayless, R. C. Woods, B. McMeehon.
T. Woods, *Treasurer.*
R. McKee, *Secretary.*

FREDERICK COUNTY.

Nat. Burwell, *President.*
Obed Waite, *Treasurer.*
Aug. C. Smith, *Secretary.*

KANAWHA COUNTY.

Philip P. Thomson, *President.*
Hon. Lewis Summers, John L. Fry, *Vice Presidents.*
Joseph Lovell, *Treasurer.*
Edward S. Eddy, *Secretary.*

AUGUSTA COUNTY.

Rev. Dr. Conrad Speece, *President.*
Rev. James C. Wilson, Rev. Dr. Daniel Stephens, *Vice Presidents.*
Managers.—Hon. Archibald Stuart, William Bell, Daniel Sheffey, Charles A. Stuart, John H. Peyton, Samuel Clarke, James A. M'Cue, John M'Cue, David Gilkeson, Jr., William Kinney, Jr., David W. Patterson, Nicholas C. Kinney.
William Clark, *Secretary.*
Joseph Cowan, *Treasurer.*

POWHATAN COUNTY.

Col. James Clark, *President.*
William Old, Rev. Edward Baptist, *Vice Presidents.*
John B. Tinsley, *Secretary.*
Joseph Davis, *Treasurer.*
Managers.—William Pope, Joseph Hobson,

Rev. Dan. A. Penick, Thomas Scott, Joseph Davis, John Daniel, William L. Montague, William Sublitt, John Gilliam.

LOUDON COUNTY.

James Monroe, *President.*

Samuel Murray, Ludwell Lee, Israel Janney, James Moore, Mahlon Taylor, Samuel Nichols, Isaac Brown, Sydney Baily, Johnson Cleaveland, Burr Powell, James Heaton, William Elzey, William Noland, *Vice Presidents.*

nR. D. Henderson, *Treasurer.*

Richard H. Lee, *Secretary.*

CHARLESTOWN, JEFFERSON COUNTY.

Doctor Samuel I. Gramer, *President.*

Bushrod C. Washington, Adam Weaver, Henry S. Turner, John T. A. Washington, George W. Humphreys, Nathaniel Craighill, *Vice Presidents.*

Robert Washington, *Treasurer.*

John Marshall, *Secretary.*

SHEPHERDSTOWN.

James S. Lane, *President.*

John Baker, *Vice President.*

John Cookus, *Treasurer.*

Geo. C. P. Krauth, *Secretary.*

ROCKINGHAM COUNTY.

Hon. Daniel Smith, *President.*

Doctor Peachy Harrison, Major John Kenney, Rev. Daniel Baker, Col. Samuel H. Lewis, *Vice Presidents.*

Dr. Peachy Harrison, James Bush, *Secs.*

David Steele, *Treasurer.*

LYNCHBURG.

Rev. John Early, *President.*

Rev. William S. Reid, Rev. F. C. Smith, *Vice Presidents.*

Robert Toler, *Secretary.*

John Caskie, *Treasurer.*

Managers.—John Victor (Mayor), Will. J. Holcombe, David R. Edley, Samuel Bransford, Elijah Fletcher, James Newhall, N. M. Taliaferro, John D. Urquhart, Chris. Umfree, John Thurmon, David G. Munell, Dr. John J. Cabell.

MECKLENBURG COUNTY.

Thos. M. Nelson, *President.*

Managers.—A. W. Venable, S. V. Watkins, Ed. R. Chambers, Col. J. Baptist.

CAMPBELL COUNTY.

T. Wilson, *President.*

BEDFORD COUNTY.

F. F. Leftwich, *President.*

ROCKBRIDGE COUNTY.

Capt. R. White, *President.*

There were many other Auxiliary Societies in Virginia, composed of the largest slave holders and most respectable citizens of the State. We regret that we have not just now an accurate list of them. Every one who knows Virginia, will accredit the foregoing names as fair representatives of the intelligence, moral worth and property of the several counties in which they lived.

If we possessed the records of these Societies they would, doubtless, contribute many interesting materials to the illustration of our history. We have fragments of reports, memorials and other documents of these auxiliaries, to which we shall have occasion to refer in the progress of our work.

The only Society in this State whose records are preserved entire, is the "Richmond and Manchester Society."

On the 4th of November, 1823, the citizens of Richmond and Manchester met in the Hall of the House of Delegates, for the purpose of considering the propriety of forming a society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society. Wm. H. Fitzwhylson was called to the chair, and James E. Heath appointed Secretary. After an address by the Rev. R. Randolph Gurley, a Society was organized by the adoption of a constitution, and the election of officers, whose names have been already reported.

It was an auspicious omen for the Society, that such a man as Chief Justice Marshall, who by his valor in the field and his wisdom in council, his simple manners and spotless life, had won a National reputation, and inspired a universal esteem, was found willing to lend to it the weight of his great name and character. And it was an edifying example to his countrymen, to see the Chief Justice of the United States as punctual in attending the meetings of a benevolent society, and presiding over its deliberations with the same meekness of wisdom and apparent interest, as he did over the Supreme Court. The board of managers not only passed resolutions, but in token of their earnestness, appointed from among themselves, committees to solicit subscriptions and dona-

tions in each ward of the City and of Manchester. They fixed the 24th of June, as the day of the first general meeting of the Society, and requested Messrs. H. E. Watkins, Robert Douthat, R. G. Scott and John Rutherford, to make addresses in exposition of the views and purposes of the Society.

On the 24th, the Society met and were addressed with earnestness and eloquence by Messrs. Rutherford and Scott. Mr. Fitzwhylson read the annual report, in which the managers express their gratification at the encouraging facts in the history of the Colony and of the Society. Its Affairs they say "are managed by gentlemen as distinguished for talents, virtue and patriotism as any in the Union. Men of the first standing in the country are daily strengthening its interests by accessions to its lists of subscribers. The government of the United States has vouchsafed its patronage, and in several instances, rendered important aid to the Colony. The removal of the Colonists from Sherbro to Mesurado (Liberia) has greatly conduced to their security, health and comfort. A vessel has just sailed from James River with one hundred emigrants, to the fitting out of which this Society has materially contributed. These auspicious circumstances in the incipient stage of such a serious enterprise, comprehending within the sphere of its operations, such a variety of interests, feelings and opinions, ought to add fervor to hope, and energy to exertion; and if favored by the benign approbation of the great and awful being in whose dispensations are the issues of all things, it cannot fail of being ultimately crowned with a success, honorable to the present and beneficial to future generations. The receipts of the Society for the ten weeks elapsing since its formation, were $527.

On motion of Dr. Mayo, Messrs. Scott and Rutherford were requested to furnish the Secretary with a copy of their addresses to be published with the Annual Report.

During the year intervening between the present and the next general meeting, the Board of Managers continued to meet regularly for the transaction of business, and their minutes are generally signed by the President.

On the 17th of January 1825, the Society held the next general meeting.

The annual report was read. In this document the managers disavow all interference with private rights and declare the single purpose of "the society to be to afford *to such free* persons of color as choose to emigrate, the means of transportation to Africa, and to provide for their comfort for a reasonable period.

That our society has arrested the attention of our most intelligent citizens and commanded their approbation is proved by the fact that more than twenty societies now exist in Virginia, six of which have been formed in the past year. At our last annual meeting we had 38 life members, and 36 annual subscribers. Now we have 45 life members and 110 annual subscribers. In a few days another vessel is expected to sail from James River with 75 emigrants, to the expense of whose outfit this branch of the society will contribute one third."

The tide of emigration among the free negroes had, during the past year, increased into a strong current. Applications so far exceeded the means of transportation, that the society was embarassed in making selections. Advantage was taken of this fact and a strong effort was made to divert the current from Liberia to St. Domingo. An agent came over from Hayti with tempting offers, and succeeded in inducing many respectable colored persons to try their fortunes in the West Indies. The managers notice this fact and say, "they would not willingly do any thing to damp the hopes of the emigrants to Hayti; but they do not think it inappropriate to make a few suggestions for their consideration. The emigrant to Hayti will have the advantage of an old settled government, but on the other hand he will find a strange people, speaking another language, and a government in whose administration for many years he cannot hope to have a voice: this government having an established State religion new to him.

In Africa he will find as productive a soil and as salubrious a climate—a people speaking the same language, professing the same religion, and governed by laws dictated by themselves. And then in Liberia they will aid in extinguishing the nefarious slave

trade." The managers also enumerate the benefits to the white and the black races—to America and to Africa—which are likely to flow from the success of Liberia, and suggest the propriety of applying to the State and Federal governments for aid.

"The Society, (they say,) only undertook *to prove from actual experiment, the practicability of the enterprise,* so that the Government might not squander the public money in a chimerical design," &c.

It was also determined to memorialize the Legislature for aid to the Colonists in the form of implements of husbandry, &c., from the Penitentiary. A committee consisting of Judge Marshall, Gov. Pleasants, Messrs. Munford, Scott and Rutherford was appointed to prepare the memorial. John Tyler was requested to present it to the House of Delegates. The application was successful. The General Assembly, on the 10th of February, passed an act appropriating $500 in goods to be estimated at the lowest cash price at which such things were sold at the Penitentiary Store.

At a meeting of the managers on the 16th of December, Messrs. Heath, Fitzwylson and Nicholas were instructed to prepare a Report for the next annual meeting, and Messrs. Upshur, Scott, Rutherford and Watkins were requested to deliver addresses.

The General Meeting was held on the 16th of January, 1826.

The Report congratulates the Society upon its increasing numbers—on the accession of distinguished citizens who have adorned the councils and exalted the reputation of the country. It institutes a striking comparison between the early histories of Virginia and Liberia—draws a graphic picture of the degraded condition of our free negroes, and represents the benefits to us and to them of their removal to Liberia, and rejoices in the prospect of thus extinguishing the "execrable slave trade"—"that monument of the cupidity and cruelty of civilized nations."

Messrs. John Y. Mason, Upshur, Watkins, Douthat, Jackson and other members of the Assembly, are requested to take charge of the memorial asking Legislative aid.

On the 1st of March, under the auspices of Mr. Upshur, a bill passed the Legislature by a majority of 41, making a donation to the colony of $800 in articles manufactured at the Penitentiary. Gen. Blackburn, of Bath, said in the course of the debate: "I would vote for $5,000. Could I believe, (he added,) that a century hence, this little colony would resemble one of the small colonies on the shores of this continent, it would cheer my dying hour. This subject has been connected with the Missouri question—it has nothing to do with it. It has been called an Abolition Society with as little reason."

On the 20th of January, 1827, the Society had its annual meeting. In the Report the managers say, "Our Society, assailed as it has been by opposition, varied according to the local prejudices of its foes, has proceeded with all the success the most sanguine could anticipate. Its views though happily conceived and clearly expressed, have been exaggerated or misrepresented. No argument has been fairly opposed to it but its impracticability—an assertion refuted by the experiment. All other opposition seems to have arisen from groundless jealousy or causeless alarm." The Board of Managers met as usual for the transaction of business during the year. Messrs. Rutherford, Burr and Crane were instructed to prepare a report for the next general meeting. Messrs. Rutherford and Heath were requested to prepare a memorial to the Legislature, and Messrs. R. G. Scott, Thomas Marshal and Edward Colston were desired to deliver addresses at the next anniversary, which had been appointed for the 17th of December, upon which occasion Mr. Rutherford presented a very able Report from which we can only make a few brief extracts. "The fears of the timid—the misconceptions and prejudices of the ignorant—the misrepresentations and denunciations of the determined foes of this scheme have all conspired to retard and distract the laudable efforts of its patrons. Regardless, however of all impediments and indifferent to all reproaches—conscious of the purityof our intentions and trusting in the protection of a wise and merciful Providence, we have advanced steadily to the consummation of our object. The gloomy predictions of our opponents have been falsified—the fears and prejudices of the well-meaning, but misguided, have been dispelled, while

the scoffs and reproaches of malignity have been in a measure silenced by success." "Virginia will not abandon a scheme to which she gave the first impulse. We cannot doubt but that while the policy of her laws expels from her territory all emancipated slaves, she will do what she can to procure them an asylum. Justice and humanity require this at her hands, and we cannot believe that an appeal to the justice and humanity of Virginia will be made in vain."

The Hon. John Marshall, John Tyler and R. G. Scott, were appointed to represent this Society at the approaching anniversary of the American Colonization Society at Washington.

Special efforts were made during this year to raise funds for the transportation of a large company of emigrants from Richmond.

The committee to prepare a Report for the next general meeting, were instructed to consider the expediency of changing this Society into a State Society to be composed of the present members and of delegates from other societies in this State.

The Rockbridge Auxiliary Society had been for several years in active operation. At its anniversary of this year it promulged the following excellent sentiments in its Report. The scheme of our society is not a new one. When the sages of the Revolution directed our affairs, the General Assembly of Virginia adopted it, and would have proceeded with it as the proper business of government if they could have procured a foreign territory adapted to the purpose. The scheme itself is a simple one. It is to restore the free people of color with their own consent to the land of their forefathers. There is to be no meddling with property in slaves. The rights of masters are secured in the eyes of the society. The tendency of the scheme and one of its objects is to secure slave-holders and the whole Southern country against certain evil consequences growing out of the present threefold mixture of our population. If slaveholders should choose to liberate their slaves the society will take them. Every thing is voluntary. We can perceive nothing in these principles to alarm the timid or offend the conscientious. There are many slaveholders who have been restrained from liberating their slaves by considerations of humanity and policy. They do not believe that they would be benefitted by manumission here, and it is inexpedient to swell the number of the free colored people.

The Society in Powhatan seems to have been a very zealous one. Among the documents which proceeded from it, was a memorial from which we quote a few paragraphs illustrating its conservative tone and its strong common sense views.

Memorial of the Auxiliary Society of Powhatan county, Va., to the General Assembly of Virginia:

"It has been said that the Society, under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and noxious population (the free negroes,) is secretly undermining the rights of private property. This is the objection expressed in its full force, and if your memorialists could for a moment believe it to be true in point of fact, they would never, slaveholders as they are, have associated themselves together for the purpose of coöperating in this work; and far less would they have appeared as memorialists before the Legislative bodies of a slaveholding State. And if any instance could now be adduced in which the Society has ever manifested an intention to depart from the avowed object for which it was originally instituted, none would more willingly and readily withdraw from it their confidence and support. But from the time of its formation to the present time, all its operations have been directed exclusively to the promotion of its one grand object namely the colonization in Africa of the free people of color. It has always protested, and through us it again protests, that it has no wish to interfere with the delicate and important subject of slavery. *It has never in a solitary instance addressed itself to the slave.* It has never sought to invade the tranquillity of the domestic circle, nor the peace and safety of society. It would regard the interference of Congress on this subject as unconstitutional, and as a flagrant usurpation of the rights of the slave-holding States. There is no occasion therefore why the people of Virginia should be hostile towards the Society, since it has so often and so solemnly disclaimed all intention of intermeddling either directly or indirectly with the private

property of individuals, and since no instance of departure from its original design has ever occurred.

In connection with this subject, we beg leave to mention, that the General Assembly of Virginia, in 1805, passed an act forbidding emancipated slaves to remain within the commonwealth longer than 12 months, under pain of forfeiting their freedom. This law, odious as it may appear at first view, was doubtless dictated by sound policy, and the friends of colonization would deprecate its repeal. It has restrained many masters from freeing their slaves, and thus contributed to check the growth of an evil already too great. Some overlooking all considerations of policy and prudence, and yielding only to the strong impulse of their own feelings, do not hesitate to turn loose their slaves upon society, who generally in a short time become a burden to themselves and a nuisance to all around them. But in denying these people a residence in Virginia, the General Assembly provided no asylum elsewhere, and hence it has come to pass that petitions after petitions are annually presented to the Legislature. The rejection of these petitions (except in extraordinary cases) has led to notorious evasions of the law above referred to. Now the Colonization Society comes seasonably in aid of this abuse, by opening on the coast of Africa a safe and hospitable asylum to which may be removed not only such persons of color as are born free, but such as may be made free by the act of their owners. The consequence will be that the man who may desire from whatever motive to give freedom to his slaves, instead of casting them unfriended and penniless upon the community as was often the case formerly, will send them to Liberia at once blessing themselves and our own country. And when the advantages of this scheme shall be more fully developed, the act of 1805 will cease to be evaded. The General Assembly will no longer be annoyed with petitions from free people, and *manumission cease to be what it now is, an injury to the slave and a curse to the country.* Signed in behalf of the society.

JAMES CLARKE, *Pres.*

JOHN B. TINSLY, *Sec.*

CHAPTER IV.

The Richmond and Manchester auxiliary changed into an Independent State Society, called the Colonization Society of Virginia, and new constitution adopted, &c.

At a meeting of the Richmond and Manchester Society auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, held in the hall of the House of Delegates, on the 15th of December, 1828, Judge Marshall having taken the chair, J. H. Eustace was appointed secretary. R. G. Scott, on the part of the Board of Managers, read the Annual Report, giving an encouraging account of the operations and present state of the Society which had contributed $816 10 to the cause of the Parent Society during the preceding year.—The Report represents that by the diffusion of correct information, the public mind had been in a great measure disabused as to the real objects of the Society, and the clouds of prejudice were passing away.

The managers take leave to suggest to the meeting, that they are of opinion, the change of this Society into a State Society, or the creation of a State Society, to which the other Societies in the State should be auxiliary, and annually send delegates, would be attended with very beneficial effects. They therefore earnestly recommend this measure.

The deep interest which Virginia has in the success of this Society, and the favorable expression of her opinions heretofore on the subject, induce the Managers to recommend that an application should be made to the present General Assembly for further aid. Nor can the Managers doubt of the success of the application, when the objects and views of the Society are properly understood and when it is recollected, that the laws of Virginia forbid emancipation; but upon condition that the emancipated slave shall remove, except in rare cases. Is it not just then, that the means of removal should be facilitated and afforded? To Virginia an appeal of justice has never been made in vain; and when sustained by philanthropy, humanity and policy, we are not permitted to doubt of its success.

On motion of Mr. Rutherfoord, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the members of the Legislature and all others present, who may be members of any Colonization Society, or disposed to favor the general objects thereof, be, and they are hereby invited, to participate in the deliberations of this meeting.

Mr. John F. May, of Petersburg, presented to the meeting the following resolution of the Petersburg Auxiliary Colonization Society:

At the annual meeting of the Petersburg Auxiliary Colonization Society, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Society respectfully suggest to the Richmond and Manchester Society, whether great advantages would not result from the reorganization of that Society on the plan of a State Society, and that Vice President John F. May, be requested to attend that meeting, and communicate to it his resolution.

Whereupon, on motion of Mr. Rutherfoord, seconded by Mr. Wm. H. Fitzhugh of Fairfax, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas, it is represented to the present meeting, that the great object which induced the establishment of this and the other Societies in Virginia, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, would be more effectually advanced throughout this Commonwealth by an Auxiliary State Society, to be composed of a parent institution in this city, and such auxiliaries thereto, as may hereafter be formed:

Be it therefore resolved, That a committee be appointed to amend the constitution of this Society, and that the same shall hereafter be called "The Colonization Society of Virginia."

A Committee was accordingly appointed, who presented to the meeting a Constitution amended as aforesaid, which being considered, was approved and adopted as the Constitution of the Colonization Society of Virginia, as follows, to wit:

CONSTITUTION OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA.

Art. 1st. The Society shall be denominated the Colonization Society of Virginia.

Art. 2d. Any person who shall contribute two dollars annually to the funds of the Society, shall be a member, and the payment at any one time of not less than ten dollars, shall constitute membership for life.

Art. 3d. The officers of this Society shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who with twelve other members, shall compose a Board of Managers. They shall be elected annually, and shall be competent to fill any vacancies which may occur in the Board from resignation or otherwise. Five members shall constitute a quorum for business.

Art. 4th. Every Society within the State, which shall become auxiliary to this Society, shall be entitled to send three representatives to attend and vote at all the meetings of the Society.

Art. 5th. The Officers of this Society not resident in Richmond, and the Secretaries of Societies auxiliary to this, shall be ex officio correspondents thereof, and the Board of Managers shall, as soon as practicable, and annually thereafter, appoint one or more additional correspondents in every county and corporation in the Commonwealth. It shall be the duty of the correspondents to communicate to the Corresponding Secretary from time to time, any information calculated to promote the interests of the Society.

Art. 6th. Annual meetings of the Society shall be held in Richmond, at such time during the session of the Legislature, as the Managers may appoint.

Art. 7th. This Constitution may be altered only at a regular meeting, and by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

On motion of Mr. Burr, (in pursuance of the recommendation of the Board of Managers) it was *Resolved*, That in conformity with the recommendation of the Annual Report, to apply to the General Assembly at this session for aid, the Managers be instructed to prepare and present a Memorial for that purpose.

The Society then proceeded to the appointment of officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were duly elected, to wit:

JOHN MARSHALL, *President;* James Madison, James Monroe, James Pleasants, John Tyler, William H. Fitzhugh, John F. May, Gen. Briscoe G. Baldwin, Philip Doddrige, Hugh Nelson, Gen. Wm. H. Broadnax, William Maxwell, and Dr. Thomas Massie, *Vice Presidents.*

Benjamin Brand, *Treasurer:*

William Barret, *Secretary;*

John Rutherfoord, *Corresponding Secretary;*

And Wm. H. Fitzwhylson, Robert G. Scott, Hall Neilson, John H. Eustace, Jas. Blair, William Crane, David I. Burr. Jas. E. Heath, Nicholas Mills, James Caskie, Thomas C. Howard and Fleming James, *as other Managers.*

Resolved, That 500 copies of the Report, together with the Constitution and Proceedings of the Meeting, be printed in pamphlet form, and that a copy thereof be forwarded to all the officers and correspondents of the Society.

Resolved, That the Editors in the city be requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting in their respective papers.

And then the Society adjourned.

JOHN H. EUSTACE.
Secretary, pro tem.

The Colonization Society of Virginia now commences its career as an independent State organization. It is no longer the American Colonization Society. The Virginia society is more distinct from and independent of the American Society than the State of Virginia is of the United States of America.

The design of this new organization was to make Richmond instead of Washington the centre of operations in Virginia. There was a growing jealousy in the South of all interference with any question touching the colored race by any person or association, without the territory of Virginia, and not identified in principles, interest and sympathy with our people. The wisdom of this conclusion was soon made clear by the disastrous influence of Northern agitation upon the peace of the country and the prosperity of the Colonization Society of Virginia. Up to this point the cause had been quietly and gradually working its way to public favor, and would have probably soon become the established policy of the State. But incendiaries now began to throw fire-brands into the bosom of our peaceful community, and the scene was suddenly changed. As a strong indication of public sentiment, we ask attention to the following able report of a committee of the General Assembly of Virginia. It is a thorough and able exposition of the principles, purposes, history and prospects of the Colonization Society.

The history of the subject does not furnish a more comprehensive and statesman-like discussion than does this report.

On the 28th of December 1828, Mr. John F. May presented a petition from the Colonization Society of Petersburg, and Col. John Rutherfoord presented one from the Colonization Society of Virginia, asking legislative aid to promote the views of the Society in colonizing the free people of color. These petitions were, without from the Powhatan Society now referred on motion of Mr. May, to a select committee "to examine the matter thereof, and report their opinion to the House of Delegates. The committee consisted of John F. May, John Rutherfoord, Wm. M. Rives, Wm. H. Fitzhugh, Philip Doddridge and Messrs. White, Brown, Nelson, Boyd, Anderson and Tyler. The report was as follows:

Report of the Committee to whom were referred the Memorials and Petitions of the Societies auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

The committee to whom were referred the several memorials and petitions from the Societies auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, have, according to order, had the same under consideration, and having given to the subject that attentive reflection which its importance, and connection with the best interests of the Commonwealth demand, have come to the following report and resolutions thereupon:

The evils resulting from the condition of the free coloured population amongst us, early aroused the anxiety, and attracted the atten-

tion of our predecessors in the administration of this government. Resolutions at sundry time passed both branches of the Legislature, in secret session, to which your committee cannot more particularly allude, as the injunction of secrecy has never been removed. In pursuance of these resolutions, however, Mr. Monroe in 1801, being then Governor of Virginia, entered into a correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, the President of the United States, consulting him on the means of procuring an asylum beyond the limits of the United States, to which that description of our population could be sent. In consequence of this correspondence, and the approval by the Legislature, at its subsequent session, of the plan suggested by Mr. Jefferson, instructions were given to our Minister in London, to endeavour to make some arrangement with the Sierra Leone Company, by which they should receive such of our free coloured population as might be colonized there. All of this was in accordance with the secret resolutions of the Legislature, at its session of 1800, as is ascertained by a letter from Mr. Jefferson, giving an account of these transactions, annexed to a report made in the House of Representatives of the United States, March 3, 1827. Difficulties arising in the negotiation, and our own political relations assuming a threatening character, the subject was dropped for a time, but was again resumed by the Legislature, at its session of 1816-17, when peace was restored to the world, and a resolution passed almost unanimously, in the following words: "Whereas the General Assembly of Virginia, have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum, beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of colour as had been or might be emancipated, under the laws of this Commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success:

"They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the Government of the United States, in abolishing the African Slave Trade, (a traffic which this Commonwealth, both before and since the revolution, zealously sought to terminate) to renew this effort, and do therefore resolve, that the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or some other place, not within any of the States, or Territorial Government of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may be hereafter emancipated within this Commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States be requested to exert their best efforts, to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above object: provided that no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth, until ratified by the Legislature."

This resolution indicated, in the opinion of your committee, a fixed determination on the part of Virginia to undertake, and carry into effect this great scheme, even with her own unassisted means; and they think it probable, a reliance, not only on the great moral influence of a Commonwealth so deeply interested in this question, but also on her pecuniary aid, may have had considerable influence in founding the American Colonization Society. At all events, the formation of this Society, soon after the passage of the above resolution, having precisely the objects indicated by the Legislature, viz: the colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of colour on the coast of Africa; your committee cannot but consider, an event highly propitious to the views of the Legislature. Many difficulties must necessarily have occurred in any attempt to execute this design by Virginia alone. In the first place, if left to her public means, without any organized plan for eliciting private benevolence, pecuniary embarrassments might have enfeebled our exertions and frustrated the design, by withdrawing the necessary means in times of public difficulty. Secondly, had she been successful, each State might have had its Colony, which would necessarily have resulted in the extreme weakness of some, and probably in an unhappy jealousy and rivalry, which would have endangered all. Thirdly,

had the Colony been undertaken by the State in her sovereign character, it must have been treated as her possession, supported and defended by her, and subjected to all her relations of peace and war: such a dependency upon one only of twenty-four associated sovereignties, possessing individually no power to hold diplomatic relations with any power, no right of maintaining any separate naval or military force, in fine having no national existence as it regards foreign nations, would not only have presented a curious anomaly in our political system, but probably have met with insuperable difficulties in the execution.

The formation of the Society, by concentrating the exertions of the humane throughout the Union, to which may be added at pleasure, the munificence of the States, and by directing emigration to a single point, has obviated the two first objections. As to the third, the Colony not being subjected to the sovereignty either of a State, or of the Union, ought not to be subjected to our relations of peace and war; and it is confidently believed, that nothing is wanting to secure its entire neutrality in any conflict we may hereafter have with a foreign power, but an understanding of its true condition. It is believed, that nothing but effectual aid on the part of this Government is wanting, to enable the Society to fulfil all the humane, as well as political views of Virginia, on this interesting subject.

Convinced of a coincidence in views between the Legislature and the Society, your committee next turned their attention, with much anxiety, towards its operations, its present condition, and its future prospects, to discover in these the evidences of its capacity to fulfil its designs.

They find, that but eleven years have elapsed since its formation; that a want of acquaintance with the actual condition of Africa, was then almost universal; that the Society had to commence its operations by obtaining accurate information of the country to be colonized; at a time when the anxious, impatient expectations of its friends, compelled it to do something towards the attainment of its objects, even before the knowledge necessary to prevent misfortune could be acquired. It is not surprising, therefore, that untoward events threw a temporary cloud over its commencement. Since then, a better knowledge of the country has enabled them to procure a territory healthful, fertile, and sufficiently extensive for all the purposes of such an asylum as has been contemplated by Virginia. Fortifications have been erected, a town actually built, plantations opened, many public works completed, and such a number of Colonists seated there, as in the opinion of our committee dissipates all speculation as to the practicability of their plans. They are also convinced, that the Society have conducted their operations with so much prudence, as to give no cause of alarm to the holders of slaves, for the security of this property.

Your committee have next turned their attention to the internal condition of the Colony, to discover what hope it affords of improving the condition of that part of our population, proverbially degraded at home, upon whom it is intended to operate, could they be induced to embrace the humane views of the Society, and the Legislature. The first object of their inquiry, as most interesting to human enjoyment, was the health of the Colonists, and although from the mortality which has prevailed amongst the whites employed in this great undertaking, they are convinced the climate is peculiarly inimical to them, yet, since their removal to the present situation, the health of the blacks is believed to have been as good as is usually enjoyed by other Colonists. Persons removing from a cold, or temperate, to a tropical climate, must expect some sickness before they become acclimated, but your committee find here, the most humane and salutary arrangements, to lessen the danger and suffering incident to this change. Large and comfortable receptacles for new Colonists have been provided, where the constant attendance of a person skilled by long experience in the treatment of this disease, with all the medicines and comforts necessary to their condition, are furnished the Colonists upon their arrival, until they pass this period; such has been the success of this treatment, that amongst the last Colonists from Virginia, a mortality not exceeding three per cent. has occurred, and that falling exclu-

sively upon very young children or very aged persons. When this season of trial has passed, the health enjoyed by the Colonists is believed, from the reports of the agent and from other sources of information, not to be surpassed by the same population any where. When your committee compare the sufferings of the Colonists at Liberia, with those encountered in the first attempts to plant this great nation, they see abundant cause of gratitude to Divine Providence, rather than despondency. The first three attempts to colonize Virginia, entirely failed, and the Colonists perished almost to a man. The first permanent settlement was made at Jamestown in May, 1607, and consisted of about 100 persons; in the course of the year, they were reduced to 38; they were reinforced by the arrival of 120 persons, with provisions and instruments of husbandry. Great exertions were made by the proprietors to sustain this Colony, and in 1609, 500 emigrants arrived, yet in May, 1610, it consisted of but 60 persons. Fresh supplies of men and provisions were sent from England, and large sums of money expended in furtherance of the object, and yet in 1624, seventeen years after the foundation of the Colony, when the charter was vacated, the Colony consisted of but 1800 souls; although more than 9000 persons had been sent hither from England; and a sum exceeding 150, 000*l.* (666,000 dollars) had been expended in the pursuit. Your committee will not consume the time of the House in detailing the disasters of New England, but will compare with this history of our Commonwealth, a view of the African Colony. There have been expended by the Society about $70,000. There have been transported from the United States in their vessels about 1000 Colonists. To these must be added about 160 re-captured Africans, sent back by the Government of the United States, who settled in the Colony, 175 natives rescued from slavers by the Colonists, and about 50 native children going to school in the Colony, making about 1385 souls. From the latest information your committee can receive, when those who are now on their way, and who are included in the number stated above, to have been sent out by the Society, shall have arrived, in eleven years from the formation of the Society, and six from the permanent location of the Colony, their population will consist of 1343* souls. Your committe are therefore by no means dissatisfied with the prospects of health to the Colonists.

This important point ascertained, your committee next turned their inquiries towards the security of the Colonists from hostile attacks. They find that in its infancy, when the military means of the Colony were at their lowest, and their defences incomplete, two combined attacks were made upon it, by the native tribes, which were repelled with great spirit. Since then, their numbers have increased ten fold, their fortifications have been completed, their militia organized and disciplined, and provided as they are with the means, have on several occasions shown themselves not wanting in the will, nor the power to defend themselves. There is, too, ample evidence that the natives are pacific, that the moral influence of the Colony is rapidly increasing over them, and that the ties of mutual benefits, and commercial intercourse, have left among them but little inclination to disturb those relations of peace which have been established with their now powerful neighbor, even should they forget the lesson taught them, by its stern resistance in infancy. The power of the Colony itself; the presence of ships of war continually hovering in those seas to suppress the slave trade; and of commercial vesssels trading to that coast, afford ample security in the opinion of your committee against piratical attacks.

With regard to territory, a large extent, embracing several navigable creeks and rivers, has been obtained, which is capable of producing corn, guinea corn, millet, rice, cotton, sugar, coffee, with other valuable products, and of sustaining horses, cattle, hogs, goats, sheep, and other useful animals, equal to the demands of a large population; and no doubt this may be extended as their wants may require it. The commerce of the Colony has increased to an importance which will surprise those who have never inquired into the subject; only two circumstances

* The number stated in Mr. Gurley's letter, and published in the Report, was 1843. We have ventured to correct the error.—[*Editor.*

evincing which will be mentioned. From the reports of the Agent, Mr. Ashmun, who your committee take pleasure in saying, appears to be a highly intelligent, dispassionate, zealous, and pious man, it appears, the exports of the Colony for six months, from the 1st of January, to the 15th of June, 1826, amounted, in value, to $43,980, upon which a profit was realized to the Colonists, of $21,990. In the month of July of the same year, a cargo of goods, worth $11,000, arrived at Liberia from Portland, which was sold and wholly paid for in ten days, the regulations of the Colony prohibiting, under pain of forfeiture, any imported goods being sold on credit. The result of this state of prosperity is, that every description of labour is well paid, and a poor Colonist arriving without money or any trade, can for his ordinary daily labour, command from 75 to 125 cents per day, whilst those who have good trades, receive $2. As a further evidence of this propriety, the Agent mentions the fact, that of the 142 re-captured Africans who arrived in August last, all had obtained, within seven days, such wages and employment in the Colony, as no longer to be a charge upon the Government. Notwithstanding these evidences of prosperity, the Legislature will perhaps be surprised to hear, that your committee have good reason to believe, that several of the Colonists have acquired fortunes of from five to ten thousand dollars each.

Satisfied on these important points, your committee next directed its inquiries to the political and moral state of the Colony, to discover if they were such as to promise a complete development of these physical advantages, and find, from the annual reports of the Society, and the accounts received from the Agent, that a form of Government has been adopted, with which the people are perfectly content, which extends to them perfect equality of rights and security of properity, and in which they have as large a participation as is compatible with their present condition. The Society will doubtless extend this participation, as the Colonists become qualified to exercise new privileges, and by a wise system of instruction, are preparing them for it. Schools are established, and by law all the children are required to be educated. The effect, as the Agent reports, is, that there is no instance of a child five years old, unless it be some late emigrant, who cannot read: and how greatly the Colonists themselves appreciate this blessing, will be felt, when it is known they contribute $1,400 yearly, to support the system. Indeed, your committee have the authority of the Colonists themselves, in a late impressive address to the free persons of colour in the United States, for saying, that such is the equity with which the Government has been administered by the Colonial officers, such the liberty and equality of rights which prevails among them, such the effect of removing them from that continually depressing sense of inferiority, to which they have heretofore been exposed; that perhaps there exists no where a happier, or more contented community. From the reports of the Agent, your committee feel justified in reporting too, a high state of morals in the Colony. Churches have been erected; sobriety, industry and good order prevail; and the fact is developed, that even this degraded population needs only the ordinary motives and incitements to exertion, to elevate their characters far above any moral worth we have been accustomed to assign to it.

From this review of the history, present condition, and future prospects of the Colony, your committee can feel no hesitation in earnestly recommending it to the free people of colour in Virginia, as a proper asylum for them and their children: and as holding forth to them, a fair prospect of that wealth, respectability and moral improvement, which in the United States they can never attain. They feel assured that no motives of policy could induce them to give this recommendation, did they not believe true feelings of philanthropy and benevolence towards that species of our population, supported them in it. They again most solemnly repeat to the free coloured people of Virginia their belief, that in Africa alone can they enjoy that complete emancipation from a degrading equality, which in a greater or less degree pervades the United States, if not in the laws.

in the whole frame and structure of society and which in its effects on their moral and social state is scarcely less degrading than slavery itself. In Africa, there is a reasonable prospect of health, security for life and property, perfect equality of condition, a government, in the rights and benefits of which all participate, and ample means of acquiring by industry, independence, comfort, and even wealth.

Fully convinced of the benefits likely to accrue to our free coloured population from emigration to this Colony, your committee have next inquired into the motives of policy which should induce this Legislature to extend such pecuniary aid to this Society, as would enable them to transport those who may be disposed to go, and to hold out such motives as will be decisive with this population to remove thither. The evils resulting to us from their remaining here are but too well known, and as *policy* compels us to place impediments in the way of gratifying those feelings which often prompt to the emancipation of faithful slaves, *humanity* would require us to furnish some asylum to which they may be sent, with benefits to themselves, and gratification to their benevolent owners. The prevalence of the free coloured population amongst us, has compelled the Legislature to engraft on its Criminal Code, provisions of peculiar harshness in relation to them, inconsistent with the general mild spirit of our laws; and the expense of these criminal prosecutions, forms no small item in our general expenditure. Your committee think also, that as part of a system of poor laws, a small sum annually applied to their transportation, would be both humane and politic. Great Britian, and perhaps other European nations, are seeking relief from the burden of their poor, by transporting at public expense, a portion of those incapable of obtaining subsistence at home, to other regions where it is more easily procured; and the same policy may be advantageous to us, with regard to unquestionably the most degraded part of our population, who can never amalgamate with the great body of the nation. The number of free negroes in Virginia, was, at the last census, about 50,000; the average increase may be set down at 3½ per cent. amounting to about 820. The whole cost of subsistence and transportation to the Colony is $30, which would make the cost of transporting the whole increase of this population, about $25,000 per anum. The situation of the Colony, however, renders so large an accession to their population at present, by no means desirable, and your committee believe a well concerted combination of public munificence, with private benevolence, united with a moderate tax on this species of population, to be applied exclusive to the aid of such as are willing to emigrate, would abundantly supply all the means that could now be prudently or beneficially used by the Society. The adoption of this plan is therefore earnestly recommended, as likely to contribute not only to the general, but really to the pecuniary interests of the Commonwealth.

There is one other circumstance to which your committee will advert, as connected with the policy of this measure. Any new avenue for our productions, must be greatly desirable, in the present embarrassed state of our commerce. Many of these Colonists going from the South, will carry with them many of our habits and wants. Their extended means of gratifying these will produce an increased demand for our products. Their trade with the interior, which is rapidly extending, promises to open some market, particularly for our tobacco. Several small shipments of this article, and of flour, have already been made by citizens of Richmond, for which profitable returns have been made. By the last commercial regulations of Great Britain, the direct intercourse in our own vessels, from the United States to their Colony of Sierra Leone, is prohibited, whilst the vessels of Liberia would have free access there. The growth of the Colony then would not only create a great demand for nails, iron, lumber and building materials for themselves, but would afford the means of continuing a commerce with Sierra Leone, which must otherwise be lost. The returns for these cargoes would be gold dust, ivory, cam wood, palm oil, beeswax, and dye stuffs, derived from the trade with the natives, and at no distant day sugar, coffee and tropical

fruits in abundance, the production of the Colony itself.

In every light then in which your committee can view this subject, they think it entitled to the aid of this Legislature. They feel a pride in connecting Virginia with the very foundation of this great scheme of philanthropy, and see nothing in its progress to alarm, but much to elevate their hopes, not only of its ultimate success, but of its future benefits. In these views they are strengthened by the increased contributions the Society has received from a benevolent public, and the increased importance thus given to its operations. During the last year 533 new colonists have been sent out; 391 at the expense of the Society; the residue, consisting of re-captured Africans, transported at the expense of the United States. Nothing therefore but increased means, seems necessary, to give increased usefulness to their operations, and your committee beg leave to report the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to appropriate a small sum annually in aid of the Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour on the Coast of Africa.

2. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to provide by law for a moderate tax on the free people of colour in the State of Virginia, to be applied in aid of such as are willing to emigrate to Liberia, from this Commonwealth.

For reasons which will be disclosed in the next chapter, nearly three years elapsed before the Colonization Society of Virginia had another meeting. This we regard as a fortunate circumstance, as it shows the wisdom and prudence with which it was conducted and entirely frees it from the suspicion of having been accessary to the tragical events of 1831. It is true that the auxiliaries at Alexandria, Lynchburg, Staunton, Fredericksburg, Charlottesville and perhaps at some other points were still in operation. But such records of their proceedings as were published, breathe such a conservative tone as to place their managers high above the imputation of contributing in any degree to the exciting of a spirit of discontent and insubordination among the colored people. Among the admirable addresses which were made before these auxiliaries, we have read with much pleasure those of Messrs. Harrison, Rives, Toler and Mosby of Lynchburg—of Messrs. Marye and Blackford at Fredericksburg,—of Bishop Meade of Frederic and the Rev. Andrew Broaddus of King William.

The fourth anniversary of the Lynchburg Society was celebrated on the 1st of August 1829, and a very appropriate address made by Wm. M. Rives, Esq. The report notices the valuable co-operation of this Auxiliary in the work of Colonization.

The fifth annual meeting of the Alexandria Society was held in St. Paul's church on the 14th of April, 1831. Addresses were made by the Rev. Messrs. Harrison, Walton and Cornelius, and by Mr. Woart. The report speaks in very encouraging terms of the progress of public sentiment and of the multiplication of Auxiliary Societies.

The sixth annual meeting of the Augusta Society was celebrated on the 23d of May, 1831. The report speaks in touching terms of the sudden death of the Hon. Daniel Sheffey, and bewails the loss it has sustained by an event depriving their society of one of its earliest and warmest friends and most efficient officers.

The proceedings of these auxiliaries were in entire harmony with the policy of the Colonization Society as declared in its fundamental law, viz: the removal to Liberia of the free negroes, and of such other persons as masters acting spontaneously might choose to emancipate. While some of the speakers indulged in the hope that in the distant future slavery might be gradually extinguished, they all agree in protesting most vehemently against any purpose of interfering in the question of our domestic institutions. As an example of their general tenor upon this topic, Charles L. Mosby in a speech before the Lynchburg Society in the summer of 1831, used the following strong language—"Equally absurd and false is the allegation that this society seeks to disturb the rights of property and to interfere with the well established relation between master and slave. If any man should avow such purposes as these, and seek to hide himself under the authority of this Society, he is a base traitor to its principles and its worst enemy. Let him stand or fall by the verdict of an outraged community, but do not make

liable for his acts a great institution whose real friends will be the first to discountenance him, and to brand upon his forehead in indelible characters, this is a traitor to his country and the cause of humanity."

The cause of African Colonization had recently sustained a severe loss in the death of two eminent Virginians—the Hon. Bushrod Washington, President of the American Society, and of William H. Fitzhugh, one of its earliest friends and most generous patrons.

At a meeting of the American Society at Washington, in June 1830, General Walter Jones in a very impressive speech portrayed the high character of the venerable Judge Washington and eloquently expressed the grief which not himself only but the Society and the country felt at this loss. He concluded by offering the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Society entertains a deep sense of the loss which it has sustained by the decease of its venerable President the Hon. Bushrod Washington, and that it will cherish an affectionate remembrance of his intellectual and moral worth. The Rev. R. Randolph Gurley in the report added: The venerable President of this Society expired in Philadelphia, on the 26th of November. Called unanimously at the request of this institution to preside over its deliberations, he gave to it not merely the influence of his opinion and the weight of his name, but repeatedly by liberal pecuniary contributions, evinced his intense interest in the object it was established to promote. Not as a profound and sagacious statesman only did he contemplate it, but with the enlarged views of a philanthropist and the expanded benevolence and pious confidence of a christian. In an address delivered at the first annual meeting of this Society, he said, "Among all the magnificent plan for the improvement and happiness of mankind, there is perhaps none upon which we were more confidently implore the blessing of heaven than this. Whether we consider the grandeur of the object or the wide sphere of philanthropy it embraces, or whether we view the present state of its progress, we may discover in each a certain pledge that the same benignant hand which has made these preparatory arrangements will crown our efforts with success.

The managers feel it to be impossible to present even an outline of the character of this eminent man—occupying for more than 30 years a seat in the highest judicial tribunal of the country. Exhibiting on all occasions the attributes of a sound, comprehensive and learned mind; fulfilling his arduous duties with regal integrity and cloudless honor; no words of ours can increase the public regret for his loss nor add to the brightness of his fame.

In Jan. 1831, Mr. G. W. P. Custis said upon the occasion of the death of Wm. H. Fitzhugh—"Sir, our lot has fallen on calamitous times. Scarcely had we doffed our mourning garments for our venerable President, who so long and so worthily filled our chair, and who bore his illustrious name with many of the high dignities and all the mild charities, pure and time honored to the grave, than we must again put on the insignia of sorrow, for lo the 'Insatiate Archer' has sped another shaft and another of our chiefs is hurried to an untimely tomb. He was one of the earliest and most faithful laborers in our vineyard. He spared neither time nor talents in the service of our cause, and by his last will and testament left an imperishable monument of his friendship and sympathy for the whole African race. Yes, sir, and when in future times powerful Liberia in the pride and in the enjoyment of freedom and happiness, shall erect in her capitol tokens of gratitude in memory of her early benefactors, the name of Fitzhugh will be graven thereon in characters of pure and high relief.

CHAPTER V.

The rise of Northern Abolitionism—Colonization and Abolition antagonistic—Suspension of proceedings of Colonization Society of Virginia from December, 1828, to June 1831—Southampton Tragedy traced to its true cause—Gov. Giles—the Mayor of Boston, &c.

The Colonization Society had been gradually winning its way to the confidence of Virginians as a wise measure of State policy, and a deserving object of Christian

charity. It could point with pride to the names of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Tyler, and many other names of the highest authority. It had been stamped several times with the broad seal of the Commonwealth in the form of divers acts of the General Assembly. It was cheered by the unanimous voice of Christians of all creeds, and had a fair prospect of becoming the settled policy of the State. But this fair prospect was soon overcast with a cloud charged with angry lightnings—this harmony marred by the voice of discord.

The demon of abolition now appeared in American history in the forms and under the names of the "Liberator," the "African Sentinel," and the "Genius of Universal Emancipation."

No two things were more opposed than the Genius of Colonization and the Genius of Abolition. The former is Concord with her horn of plenty, the latter Discord, Daughter of Night and Sister of Revenge and Death. The one is the olive-branch—the other is the hoarse the gentle dove returning to the ark with raven exulting in the Deluge. The former is Peace—the latter is Bellona with her offerings of blood. The one is the gentle zephyr wafting its treasures to the haven where they would be—the other is the hurricane lashing the ocean into foam and covering its surface with wrecks, and its caverns with the bones of the dead.—Madison and Marshall were the types of the one—Garrison and Walker the representatives of the other.

These monomaniacs forgetting that all the great movements of Providence like those of Nature were slow, became impatient of the gradual breaking of the day and would so quicken the wheels of time as to precipitate noon upon midnight. Accordingly they began to forge and throw into the peaceful bosom of Southern society firebrands with the view of lighting up the flame of insurrection. The venerable Dr. Alexander of Princeton, New Jersey, in his history of African Colonization, says: "About this time the zeal of the Abolitionists had become exceedingly warm, and great excitement was produced both at the North and the South by the publication of inflammatory pamphlets containing highly colored descriptions of the cruelties exercised towards the slaves in the Southern States; and caricatures were prepared calculated to make a strong impression on the imagination of the people. A pamphlet was printed in Boston, written by one Mr. Walker, which actually *aimed to excite the slaves to insurrection*, and did not hesitate to exhort them to take vengeance on their owners by imbruing their hands in their blood. Copies of these pamphlets were sent by mail into the Southern country."

Many of these incendiary pamphlets answering the above description were collected and deposited in the State Library of Richmond. The Secretary of State has kindly given us access to them, and we have recently looked through them all. There are among them many numbers of the Liberator, the Genius of Universal Emancipation, several caricatures in the form of handkerchiefs, a variety of anti-slavery tracts and catechisms teaching the most atrocious doctrines. Our attention was specially arrested by a pamphlet entitled "An appeal to the colored citizens of the world and particularly of the United States of America," written in 1820, and re-printed in Boston in 1829. This pamphlet fell into the hands of Chief Justice Marshall, President of the Colonization Society of Virginia, and was given by him to the governor of this State.

We extract from it the following precious gems: "Some of you whites will yet curse the day in which you live. My color will yet root some of you from the face of the earth. You may doubt—so did the Sodomites until God rained fire down upon them." The fruits of these incendiary machinations soon began to appear.

In December 1829, Gov. Giles in his message to the General Assembly, says: "that during the past summer a spirit of dissatisfaction and insubordination was manifested by some of the slaves in different parts of the country from this place to the Seaboard, and considerable excitement was produced in a few neighborhoods.

The Richmond Enquirer of the 28th of January 1830, said about "three weeks ago the House of Delegates went into closed doors in consequence of a message from the governor communicating a pamphlet printed in Boston, and addressed to people of color.

We should have taken no farther notice of this matter if we had not reason to believe that a systematic design has been formed for circulating these pamphlets exclusively among the colored people."

The copy in question was found in the house of a free man of color after his death by the Mayor. We learn from the Savannah papers that about fifty copies had been sent to that place for distribution, and that they had fallen into the hands of the mayor, who sent them to the governor, and he to the Legislature, who had passed a very stringent bill upon the subject, making the circulating incendiary pamphlets a capital offence.

The Savannah papers give some extracts from this pamphlet, displaying the ferocious spent of the author. They call upon these poor ignorant creatures to wash their hands in the blood of the whites. And so very obnoxious is the whole pamphlet that the Boston Sentinel reprobates it in the severest manner and justifies the law of Georgia.

On the first of February, 1830, Governor Giles communicated to the Legislature of Virginia a letter from Harrison Gray Otis, Mayor of Boston.

On the 1st February 1830, the Speaker of the House of Delegates presented the following communication from the Governor of Virginia:

To the Honorable LINN BANKS,
Speaker of the House of Delegates.

In compliance with the advice of the Executive Council, I do myself the honor of transmitting herewith a copy of a letter from the Hon. Gray Otis, Mayor of Boston, covering a copy of a letter addressed by him to the Mayor of Savannah in answer to one received by him from that gentleman, respecting a seditious pamphlet written by a person of color in Boston; and circulated by him in other parts of the United States.

Yours, respectfully,
WM. B. GILES.

—

To the Governor of Virginia.

SIR: Perceiving that a pamphlet published in this city has been a subject of animadversion and uneasiness in Virginia as well as in Georgia, I have presumed that it might not be amiss to apprise you of the sentiments and feelings of the city authorities in this place, and for this reason I beg leave to send you a copy of my letter to the Mayor of Savannah in answer to one from him. You may be assured that your good people cannot hold in more absolute detestation the sentiments of the writer than do the people of this city, and as I verily believe the mass of the New England population. The only difference is that the insignificance of the writer, the extravagance of his sanguinary fanaticism tending to disgust all persons of common humanity with his object, and the very partial circulation of his book prevent the affair from being the subject of excitement, and hardly of serious attention. I have reason to believe that the book is disapproved of by the decent portion of the colored people, and it would be a cause of deep regret to all my well disposed fellow-citizens if a publication of this character and emanating from such a source should be thought to be countenanced by any of their number.

I have the honor to be,
Your obd't serv't,
H. G. OTIS,
Mayor of the city of Boston.

BOSTON, Feb. 10, 1830.

—

To the Mayor of Savannah.

SIR: Indisposition has prevented an earlier reply to your favor of the 12th of December. A few days before the receipt of it, the pamphlet had been put into my hands by one of the aldermen of this city—it not having been circulated here. I perused it carefully in order to ascertain whether the writer had made himself amenable to our laws, but notwithstanding the extremely bad and inflammatory tendency of the publication, he does not seem to have violated any of our laws. It is written by a free black man whose names it bears. He is a shopkeeper and a dealer in old clothes, and in a conversation which I authorized a young man to hold with him he openly avowed the sentiments of the book and authorship. I also hear that he declares his intention to circulate these pamphlets by mail, at his own expense if he cannot otherwise effect his object. You may be assured, sir, that a disposition would not be wanting on the part of the city authorities here to avail themselves

of any lawful means for preventing this attempt to throw firebrands into your country. We regard it with deep disapprobation and abhorrence. But we have no power to control the purpose of the author, and without that we think that any public notice of him and his book would make matters worse. We have been determined, however, to publish a general warning to Captains of vessels against exposing themselves to the consequences of transporting incendiary writings into yours and the other Southern States.

I have the honor to be
Your obedient servant,
H. G. OTIS.

The communication was laid upon the table.

In this connection we may cite a paragraph from an article by the Rev. R. Randolph Gurley having a direct bearing upon the point which we have adduced the foregoing documents to prove. In April 1831, Mr. Gurley as Secretary of the American Colonization Society, said, "there will be found in our list of donations, one hundred dollars from James Madison. This great and honored man approves and sanctions the object of our institution. Will the enemies of our Society in South Carolina, *and will the rash and deluded youth who is scattering firebrands* from Boston which may do mischief beyond his comprehension, deem as nothing the opinion of such men as Madison and Marshall, illustrious alike for their wisdom and virtues.

In June 1831, Wm L. Garrison delivered an address to the colored people in Philadelphia, New York and other cities. We have now before us a copy of the second edition, dated in June. In the preface to this printed address, he says: "I am determined to give slaveholders as much uneasiness as possible. They shall hear me, and of me, and from me in a tone and with a frequency which shall *make them tremble.* He recommends the observation of the ensuing 4th of July as a day of fasting and prayer to the coloured people of the United States. He denounces the Colonization Society, and calls on them to resolve on death rather than transportation. The colored people of the South, he says, are entitled to every inch of Southern territory, having worn themselves out in its cultivation.

In the Liberator for July 1831, the editor printed a song supposed to be sung by slaves in insurrection. The editor in calling attention to it, asks: "Will Southern Nullifiers do us the favor to read it to their slaves!—We shall see."

This song begins—

> See tyrants, see your empire shakes,
> Your flaming roofs the wild winds fan,
> Stung to the soul the negro wakes, &c.

The last lines are:

> Up Africa, the land is free,
> Our battle cry is Liberty,
> Oh, strike for God and vengeance now,
> Fly tyrants fly,
> Or stay to die.

These papers and others, specimens of which are now deposited in the Library of Virginia, were circulated throughout the State by mail and also by *emissaries in person*, as shown by documents now on file in the Executive Department.

In the following month of August, the insurrection occurred in Southampton, Virginia, by which sixty persons, chiefly helpless women and children, were butchered by night, by a company of negroes whose brains were fired by the ardent spirits of Alcohol and Abolition. In announcing the news of this insurrection in the Liberator of the 3rd of September, 1831, the editor has a flaming article which seems to us almost a confession of the participation of Northern Abolitionists in this foul tragedy.

If we could spare the space we would reproduce the whole article as one of the most cold-blooded and heartless declamations that was ever made by a human being under such circumstances. He quotes some verses from the Janu'ry number of the Liberator and adds: "What we *have so long predicted* at the price of being stigmatised as an Alarmist and Declaimer has begun its fulfillment.

The first step of the earthquake which is to shake down the fabric of oppression has been made—the first drops of blood which are a prelude to the deluge from the gathering clouds have fallen. In our number for January we alluded to the *hour of vengeance.* Read the accounts of the insurrection and

say if our prophecy is fulfilled. What was imagination in January is now bloody reality.

Again he says, they (the insurgents) deserved no more censure than the Greeks in breaking the Turkish yoke or the Americans in shedding British blood.

Such are some of the links (still remaining in Virginia) of that chain of evidence which connects the Immediatists of the North as they were pleased to call themselves with the Southampton insurrection. Out of their mouths we condemn them. If so plausible a case is made out at this distance of time from such of these incendiary publications as happened to fall into the hands of the Governor of Virginia, and to be preserved by him—it raises a strong presumption that if all the fact were known the proof would be complete.

Now mark the contrast presented by the Colonization Society of Virginia. While these troubles were brewing, she had but one meeting, and assigns as a reason for the suspension of proceedings, that the "public mind had been absorbed by discussions growing out of the formation of a new State government, and to the rekindling of prejudices in reference to the design of the Society which therefore preferred to await a period of repose when reason should silently assert its empire and prejudices yield to the course of events and the convictions of experience."

NOTE.—It was proven at the trial of the Southampton insurgents that certain free negro preachers had been on mission through North Carolina, and lower Virginia, and that one of them was at Jerusalem the night before the insurrection. There are several letters on the Record, and particularly one from Judge Semple to this effect. There are also on file in the office letters from Philadelphia and other cities to the Governor of Virginia, warning him of the machinations of Abolitionists to create discontent and rebellion among our servants. There are letters too from postmasters and other persons in Virginia transmitting to the Executive incendiary pamphlets taken from negroes and intercepted letters, all of the same tone.

CHAPTER VI.

Gov. Floyd's Message to the Legislature about the Southampton Insurrection. Debate on Abolition and on removal of free negroes. Acts passed by House of Delegates and rejected by Senate, &c.

Resolved, That this society deems it expedient at this time to *renew its pledges to the public* strictly to adhere to that original feature in the Constitution, which confines its operations *to the removal of the free people of color only, with their own consent.*—[*Resolution of Colonization Society of Virginia, Jan. 11th*, 1832.

"The seals are broken which have been put for fifty years upon the most delicate and difficult subject of State concernment. We publish speeches in the House of Delegates to-day which at no other period could have been delivered but with closed doors. In the same spirit, the press fearlessly speaks. Let Legislators, Politicians and Editors speak with forbearance towards each other, and with the utmost discretion in the presence of persons whose destinies are dependent upon the discussion."

Such was the spirited language of the venerable Editor of the Richmond Enquirer, on the 19th of January, 1832, pending the Abolition debate in the House of Delegates. We are indebted to the columns of the same paper for the following synopsis of the debate. We trust that no person will suspect us of reviving the memory of this debate for any purpose but the illustration of our subject. Its relations to our history will be clearly defined in a subsequent chapter. In the mean time it is but just to all parties to say that in our opinion no man of that day should be judged by the lights of the present generation. That was the flood-tide of anti-slavery feeling in Virginia, and the tide has been ebbing ever since. We do not make this remark to shield the Colonization Society. It needs no defence. In the very heat of this debate, the Colonization Society of Virginia met in the Capitol and solemnly renewed its pledge to adhere to its first principle of limiting its operations exclusively to the colonizing with their own consent the free colored people only, and although it had warm friends

on both sides of the question debated, yet it is a significant fact that the most prominent Colonizationists in the House, as Brodnax, Gholson, Marshall, Brown and others, were the leaders on the *Anti-Emancipation* side.

Extract from Gov'r Floyd's Message, Dec'r 6, 1855.

Whilst we are enjoying the abundance of the last season, reposing in the peace and quiet of domestic comfort and safety, we were suddenly aroused from that security, by receiving information that a portion of our fellow-citizens had fallen victims to the relentless fury of assassins and murderers, even whilst wrapped in profound sleep, and that those bloody deeds had been perpetrated in a spirit of wantonness and cruelty unknown to savage warfare even in these most revolting times.

In August last, a banditti of slaves, consisting of but few at first, and not at any time exceeding a greater number than seventy, rose upon some of the unsuspecting and defenseless inhabitants of Southampton, and under circumstances of the most shocking and horrid barbarity, put to death sixty-one persons, of whom the greater number were women and helpless children. Much of that bloody work was done on Monday morning; and on the day following, about 10 o'clock, the last murder was committed. The citizens of that and the adjacent counties promptly assembled, and all real danger was speedily terminated.

The conspiracy was at first believed to be general; wherefore I was induced to call into service a force sufficient to crush at a single blow all oppressing power, whatever might be its strength. To this end detachments of light infantry from the 7th and 54th Regiments, and from the 4th Regiment of Cavalry and 4th Light Artillery, under Brigadier General Eppes, who had been desired to assume command, and call out his Brigade. Arms and ammunition were amply furnished and thrown into all the counties, which were suspected of disaffection.—Two regiments in Brunswick and Greensville were called into service by their commanding officers, and under the law vesting them with the power to do so, for such purposes.

These troops being within the Brigade commanded by Brigadier General Wm. H. Brodnax, that officer assumed the command and remained in the field until all danger had passed.

It gives me great pleasure to communicate to the General Assembly, the high satisfaction I feel in bearing testimony to the zeal, promptitude and dispatch with which every officer discharged his duty, and the cheerful alacrity with which every officer obeyed the call of the law.

Though the call upon the light troops was so promptly obeyed, yet before their arrival the revolt was subdued, and many of these deluded fanatics were either captured or placed beyond the possibility of escape; some had already been immolated by an excited people.

I feel the highest gratification in adding, that the readiest aid was afforded by Commo. Elliott of the United States Navy, and a detachment of sailors from the ship Natchez, under his command, who, though, notwithstanding they had just returned from a long and distant cruise, repaired to the scene of action with a highly creditable alacrity.—Much is also due to Col. House, the commanding officer at Fortress Monroe, for the promptitude with which he dispatched a portion of his force to our aid, under the command of Lieut. Col. Worth, to whom similar praise is due, as likewise to the officers and soldiers under his command, for the promptitude with which they also repaired to our aid, so soon as it came to their knowledge. All necessity for their co-operation had ceased before they reached their point of destination; but they are not the less entitled to commendation on that account.

All of those who participated in the bloody tragedy have expiated their crimes by undergoing public execution, whilst some, who had been condemned, have been reprieved for reasons which were deemed satisfactory. There is much reason to believe that the spirit of insurrection was not confined to the county of Southampton, many convic-

tions have taken place elsewhere, and some few in distant counties.

From the documents which I herewith lay before you, there is too much reason to believe these plans of treason, insurrection and murder have been designed, planned and matured by unrestrained fanatics in some of the neighboring States, who find facilities in distributing their views and plans amongst our population, either through the post office or by agents sent for that purpose through our Territory.

Upon inspecting these documents, and contemplating that state of things which they are intended to produce, I felt it my duty to open a correspondence with the Governors of some of the neighbouring powers of this Confederacy, to preserve, as far as possible, the good understanding which exists, and which ought to be cherished between the different members of this Union. The result of this correspondence will be made known to you as soon as it is ascertained.

The most active among ourselves, in stirring up the spirit of revolt, have been the negro preachers. They had acquired great ascendancy over the minds of these fellows, and infused all their opinions, which had prepared them for the development of the final design; there is also some reason to believe those preachers have a perfect understanding in relation to these plans throughout the eastern counties, and have been the channels through which the inflammatory papers and pamphlets; brought here by the agents and emissaries from other States, have been circulated amongst our slaves. The facilities thus afforded for plotting treason and conspiracy to rebel and make insurrection, have been great. Through the indulgence of the magistracy and the laws, large collections of slaves have been permitted to take place at any time through the week for the ostensible purpose of indulging in religious worship, but in many instances the real purpose with the preacher was of a different character. The sentiments and sometimes the words of these inflammatory pamphlets, which the meek and charitable of other States have seen cause to distribute as firebrands in the bosom of our society, have been used. What shall be thought of those fiends, who, having interest in our community, nevertheless, seek to excite a servile war; a war which exhausts itself in the massacre of unoffending women and children on the one side, and on the other, of the sacrifice of all who had borne part in the savage undertaking. Not only should the severest punishment be inflicted upon those disturbers of our peace whenever they or their emissaries are found in our reach—but decisive measures should be adopted to make all these measures abortive. The public requires the negro preachers to be silenced, who, full of grievance, are incapable of inculcating any thing but notions of the vilest superstition, thus preparing fit instruments in the hands of the crafty agitators to destroy the public tranquility.

As the means of guarding against the possible repetition of these sanguinary scenes, I cannot fail to recommend to your early attention the revision of all the laws intended to preserve, in due subordination, the slave population of our State. In urging these considerations upon you, let me not be understood, as expressing the slightest doubt or apprehension of general results. All communities are liable to suffer from the dagger of the murderer and midnight assassin, and it behooves them to guard against them. With us the first returning light dispels the danger, and soon witnesses the murderer in chains.

Though means have been taken by those of other States to agitate our community and discontent our slaves, and incite them to attempt an unattainable object, some proof is also furnished, that for the class of free people of colour, they have opened more enlarged views, and urge the achievement of a higher destiny, by means for the present less violent, but not differing from those presented to the slaves. That class of our community, the laws have heretofore treated with indulgent kindness, and many instances of solicitude for their welfare have marked the progress of legislation. If the slave is confined by law to the estate of his master, as it is advisable he should be, the free people

of colour may nevertheless convey all the incendiary pamphlets and papers with which we are sought to be inundated. This class, too, has been the first to place itself in hostile array against every measure designed to remove them from amongst us. Though it will be indispensably necessary for them to withdraw from this community—yet, in the spirit of kindness which has ever characterized the Legislature of Virginia—it is submitted whether, as the last benefit we can confer upon them, it may not be wise to appropriate annually a sum of money, to aid in their removal from this Commonwealth.

Whilst recent events had created apprehensions in the minds of a few, some agitation was also more extensively felt, therefore it was deemed prudent to arm the militia in a manner calculated to quiet all apprehensions, and arms were accordingly furnished to nearly all the regiments on the eastern frontier. The want of them upon this sudden emergency was so sensibly felt by those in the vicinity of Norfolk, as to induce Commodore Warrington, in command of the Navy Yard at Gosport, to distribute a portion of the public arms under his care, that gallant and patriotic officer did not hesitate to assume the responsibility of this step, and it is gratifying to perceive that his conduct has met the approbation of the public functionaries. The policy of disarming the militia, it is believed, was pursued as a measure of economy, as the men and officers had been culpably negligent in their attention to their preservation, so that many were lost or by neglect became unfit for service. Now, however, the necessity for preserving them has been distinctly felt, and a doubt cannot be entertained that more care will be taken of them in the future, we could not weigh the expense incurred by this measure, against the possible sacrifice of life, much less the possible repetition of the scenes of Southampton.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES, }
Dec'r 6, 1831. }

On motion of Mr. Fisher, (the same being modified on motion of Mr. Brodnax,) ordered that so much of the Governor's Message as relates to the insurrectionary movements of the slaves and the removal of the free persons of colour beyond the limits of this commonwealth, be referred to a committee of Messrs. Broadnax, Fisher, Cob, Wood of Albemarle, Roane, Moore, Newton, Campbell of Brooke, Smith of Frederick, Gholson, Brown, Stillman, and Anderson of Nottoway, with leave to report by bill or otherwise.

Mr. Fisher presented a petition of the citizens of Northampton, relative to the same subject, which was ordered to be referred to the same committee.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

Mr. Goode submitted, according to notice given yesterday, the following resolution:

Resolved, That the select committee raised on the subject of slaves, free negroes, and the melancholy occurrences growing out of the tragical massacre in South Hampton, be discharged from the consideration of all petitions, memorials and resolutions, which have for their object the manumission of persons held in servitude under the existing laws of this commonwealth, and that it is not expedient to legislate on this subject.

Mr. Randolph moved to amend the resolution by striking out all after the word *South Hampton*, and inserting in lieu thereof, the following:

—— be instructed to inquire into the expediency of submitting to the vote of the qualified voters in the several cities, towns, boroughs and counties of this commonwealth, the propriety of providing by law, that the children of all female slaves, who may be born in this State, on or after the 4th of July, 1840, shall become the property of the Commonwealth, the males at the age of 21 years, the females at the age of 18, if detained by their owners within the limits of Virginia, until they shall respectively arrive at the ages aforesaid, to be hired out until the net sum arising therefrom, shall be sufficient to defray the expenses of their removal beyond the limits of the United States, and that said committee have leave to report by bill or otherwise.

Mr. Goode supported at considerable length the immediate decision of the question embraced in the resolution. It was a subject of great anxiety to a large portion of the people

of the State. He considered it his imperative duty to move that the committee be discharged from the consideration of the abolition of slavery, in order to allay the doubts and excitement now existing and to prevent the property of our citizens from being impaired by the agitation of a question which threatened the confiscation of that property. He believed the committee would come to the same conclusion as was aimed at by his resolution—that nothing should be done, which he argued must be admitted on all hands, from the fact that the Legislature had not the power to act efficiently on the subject, nor had the funds required for so great an undertaking. By continuing to entertain the subject hopes would be cherished in the coloured population, which must be disappointed, and the present anxiety of the citizens be prolonged.

Mr. Bryce of Frederick, opposed both the resolution and the proposed amendment. He argued that the committee having gone on with the consideration of petitions on this subject, a report ought to be had from them, to be sent out to the people, that they might decide on the question.

Mr. Moore in a speech of great length opposed the resolution, and offered various arguments in favor of acting energetically and at once upon the subject of the abolition of slavery, which he looked upon as the heaviest curse that could be inflicted on a people and to which he attributed the depressed condition of many parts of the State. He combatted several of the opinions expressed by Mr. Goode, and went into a discussion of the disastrous effects to be anticipated from neglecting to remove the slave population—citing detailed estimates of the relative increase of white and black population; he contended that the military force required to keep the slave population in subjection, the effects of slavery upon the morals of the whites, the prosperity of the State and the security of the lives and property of the citizens; with various other considerations, presented powerful reasons for urging the Legislature to act promptly and boldly on the subject.

Mr. Bolling expressed himself opposed to the resolution. The Committee had the whole subject before them, and hoped a report would be had from them, he stated with much clearness and force the evils of slavery, and urged a variety of reasons for legislating with a view of forming some measure for its gradual removal. In reply to the argument that the rights of property must not be touched, he argued that the civil rights of the people and the public safety required, whenever any description of property became a nuisance, that its abatement should be considered a fair object of legislation.

Mr. Randolph regretted that the main subject of the deliberations of the Committee had been presented to the House at this time, and hoped it would not be considered hastily. He had not submitted his amendment as a fire-brand to stir up discussion, but to afford some tangible question to the House, and to propose a submission of the question to the people. He expressed a different opinion from that of Mr. Goode in relation to the cause of excitement among the people which he thought did not arise from the consideration of the question by this House, but from the transactions in South Hampton. Something he argued must be done, in relation to this question, as it would be folly to remain with folded arms, and close our eyes to the future, with the sagacity of the Ostrich, which believes itself safe when its head is hidden. It was impossible to check the progress of public opinion on this subject—and it was better to meet it energetically, than be forced to act by a repetition of the masacre at South Hampton.

Mr. Gholson said that as it was not anticipated that a vote would be taken on the resolution to-day and as the usual hour of adjournment had arrived he would move the resolution and amendment be laid on the table and that when the house adjourn it adjourn to meet to-morrow at 12 o'clock, both motions having been agreed to. On motion of Mr. Gholson the house adjourned.

Richmond Enquirer, December 11th, 1832.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Thursday, January 12th 1832.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

Mr. Gholson moved that the resolution presented by Mr. Goode on Wednesday, and the amendment to it offered by Mr. Randolph, be taken up.

Mr. Haly Burton opposed the motion. a8

luding to the unprofitable discussion of Wednesday, and expressed a hope that these resolutions would be suffered to lie on the table.

The motion to take up was supported by Messrs. Roane, Gholson, Goode and Brodnax, when Mr. Haly Burton withdrew his objections.

Mr. Randolph opposed the motion to take up. After a few remarks from Mr. Carter of P. W. who expressed a hope that the resolution would be voted upon without further discussion. Mr. Witcher sustained the motion, and on his motion the Ayes and Noes were ordered.

After some further discussion, in which Messrs. Chandler, Randolph, Witcher, Sims and Gholson took part, the vote was taken and decided in the affirmative as follows: Ayes 116, Noes 7.

The resolutions being then before the House, after a short conversation between Messrs. Bryce of Goochland, Gholson and Randolph, which resulted in a withdrawal by the latter of his amendment, Mr. Newton observed that the amendment could not be withdrawn without unanimous consent. He objected to its withdrawal. Mr. Gholson then addressed the House in a long argument upon the main subject, considering it with much eloquence and ingenuity in all its bearings, and sustaining the resolution of Mr. Goode.

He was replied to briefly by Mr. Rives, who argued forcibly in favour of the amendment of Mr. Randolph.

Mr. Brodnax said, that as many other members as well as himself, were desirous of speaking on this subject, it would be impossible to get through to-day. He therefore, moved the adjournment, which was carried, and

The House adjourned.

Friday, January 13th. 1832.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

On motion of Mr. Brodnax, the resolution of Mr. Goode to discharge the Committee on the subject of Free negroes &c., from the consideration of the subject of emancipation &c., and the amendment thereto of Mr. Randolph, were taken up, and Mr. Brodnax addressed the House in a speech of nearly three hours length. He declared himself equally opposed to the resolution and amendment—stating his firm conviction that something must be done to avert consequences which were otherwise inevitable; but that a plan for this purpose ought to have as its polar principles.

1st, That not a slave should be manumitted without being deported from the State.

2nd, Nothing should be attempted which could affect injuriously the value or security of property.

3rd, That the State should take from no citizen a slave without the consent of the owner.

Mr. B. then went into various arguments to show the impolicy of the plan presented by Mr. Randolph, and to prove that by a measure of the Legislature, providing for the transportation to the Colony of Liberia, of 6000 free negroes annually, at an expenditure of $200,000, the increase of the colored population might be kept down, and the threatened evils prevented.

Mr. Bruce followed Mr. Brodnax, and opposed the resolution of Mr. Randolph, replying to the remarks of Messrs. Rives, Moore and others, and sustaining the resolution of Mr. Goode.

Saturday, January 14th. 1832.

"ABOLITION OF SLAVERY."

On motion of Mr. Powell, the resolution of Mr. Goode, discharging the Committee of Free Negroes &c., from the consideration of the subject of the emancipation of slaves, and the amendment offered to it by Mr. Randolph, was taken up.

Mr. Powell addressed the house, and was followed by Messrs. Daniel, Faulkner and Marshall.

Monday, January 16th. 1832.

"ABOLITION OF SLAVERY."

Mr. Roane (entitled to the floor, as mover of the adjournment on Saturday) moved the resolution and substitute, on the subject of the emancipation of slaves, be now taken up; but withdrew his motion at the suggestion of Mr. Bryce of G. to admit of the presentment of a report from the Select Committee on Slavery and Free negroes—which was subsequently presented by Mr. Brodnax, as follows:

"The Select Committee, to whom was re-

ferred certain memorials praying the passage of some law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the commonwealth, have, according to order, had the same under consideration, and have come to the following resolution thereupon:

"Resolved, as the opinion of the Committee, that it is inexpedient for the present Legislature to make any legislative enactment for the abolition of Slavery."

In presenting this report, Mr. Brodnax disavowed for himself and his colleagues, any intention to impede, retard, or give a different direction to the discussion of the resolutions which had thus far been debated. It would have been a contemptible littleness, of which he would not have been the instrument, to have endeavoured, by the presentation of this report, to check the free course of a discussion, in which certain gentlemen had already engaged, and in which others were prepared to express themselves. There would be no difficulty in proceeding with the debate. There was no reason why the gentleman from Albemarle should not move his substitute as an amendment to this report. So far from this report having been introduced to favor any views of the members of the Committee, Mr. B. could refer to the magnanimous gentleman from Rockbridge, who would state that it was presented at his request.

Mr. Moore said that it was but justice to the chairman and members of the committee to say, that he had requested that the report might be presented to the House, as he wished to have the whole subject before the House at once, to be decided upon finally.

Mr. Bryce of G. moved that the report be now taken up, which having been agreed to, Mr. B. offered the following as an amendment:—

Profoundly sensible of the great evils arising from the condition of the colored population of this Commonwealth: induced by humanity as well as policy to an immediate effort for the removal, in the first place, as well of those who are now free, as of such as may hereafter become free, believing that this effort, while it is in just accordance with the sentiments of the community on the subject, will absorb all our present means; and that a further action for the removal of the slaves should await a more definite development of public opinion. Resolved &c.

Mr. Bryce said he moved this amendment for the reason that, being declaratory of the opinion, that at some future time, when the feelings of the people, which were progressing and increasing, should have developed themselves, it would be in the power of Virginia, and her duty, to remove the colored population—it would prevent the effect of the bare annunciation of the report. He wished the report of the Committee to declare that when we should possess the means of doing it, we would take measures to remove the whole evil—with a view to show to the world that we look forward to the time when the final abolition of slavery shall take place—and that we will go on, step by step, to that great end. He hoped all those who wished for the final removal of the colored people, would vote for this amendment.

Mr. Moore rose to move that the report and amendment be laid on the table, because it had been understood that this report should not interfere with those gentlemen who came prepared to debate the previous propositions.

Mr. Bryce said that in justice to himself it was proper to state that he contemplated no interference in the debate on the resolution and substitute presented on this subject. But he wished to present distinctly to the House his view of it. The wide range which had been allowed gentlemen in that debate had embraced every possible topic connected with it. The same range would be allowed in discussing this question, nor was it offered to stifle discussion, which would undergo no restriction by the adoption of the preamble. If the gentlemen from Rockbridge would examine it, he would find that every topic could be discussed in considering the preamble as well as upon any other proposition. He knew that gentlemen desired to discuss the substitute of the gentleman from Albemarle, and that proposition might with propriety be brought into the debate on the preamble.

Mr. Gholson regretted that at the present time the gentleman from Goochland had presented this amendment. He knew that it was not strictly in order, and the House

might be placed in the awkward predicament of adopting the substitute of the gentleman from Albemarle along with the preamble. He wished the propositions first presented might be debated. The preamble of the gentleman presented a new question. It went to declare that although the present Legislature did not consider it expedient to act upon the subject of abolition, it was proper that some future Legislature should act. The original resolution ought first to be discussed and decided; and the resolution and preamble afterwards taken up.

Mr. Preston objected to the consideration of the preamble at this time. He believed that by taking up the Report of the Committee the original resolutions were both superseded—they were taken from before the House. He hoped that a motion would be made to reverse the resolution reported by the Committee, and refer it back to them, with directions to bring in a bill for the gradual emancipation of slaves. For that purpose he hoped the gentleman from Rockbridge would withdraw his motion to lay on the table.

Mr. Moore withdrew the motion.

Mr. Brodnax said that there seemed to him no embarrassment in getting at this subject. The questions were the same. Any gentleman, who argued that the report ought to be, or not to be adopted, would be for one or other of the original propositions. He hoped therefore, that the gentleman from Hanover would be allowed to proceed.

Mr. Randolph could not agree with the gentleman from Brunswick or Montgomery. He was acting with many other gentlemen, and he believed a majority of the House agreed with him on the general question. He knew that, novice as he was in public debate—having never in his life addressed a dozen men a half a dozen times,—he had assumed a task of no mean importance. He felt that he had attempted a duty for which all the habits of his life had left him unprepared—and that he was opposed to those who were covered with the laurels of former victories. He felt his weakness, but as it was, having entered the arena, he was determined to go on in the cause he had adopted.

Mr. Carter of Prince William observed, that he presumed the gentleman at his right (Mr. Preston) would be very glad to withdraw the proposition of the gentleman from Albermarle. But so excellent a target ought not to be withdrawn until some other gentleman should have an opportunity to take a shot at it—not that he (Mr. Carter) was desirous to participate in the discussion. He hoped, however, that the report and amendment would be laid on the table, and he made that motion.

Mr. Preston trusted the gentleman did not intend to imply that he (Mr. P.) had pursued an improper course—(Mr. Carter disavowed any such implication.) Mr. P. alluded to the course this subject had taken in the House—the petitions originally, presented—their reference—and the resolution introduced by the gentleman from Mecklenburg (Mr. Goode.)

That resolution proposed the discharge of the Committee from the further consideration of this subject; but the Committee having reported, and thereby having discharged themselves from the further consideration, the subject of the resolution was no longer before the House. How could gentlemen fire at a target which had been removed? The red hot shot of the gentleman from Prince William had no longer a mark. He, therefore, in order to continue the discussion, moved that the House disagree with the resolution of the Committee, and that the report be referred back to them with instructions to bring in a bill providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves in this Commonwealth.

Mr. Bryce was not in the habit of being troublesome to the House, but he would offer a few words. He argued that the position of the subject was not materially changed by the presentation of the Report and his amendment. He hoped the resolutions would not be taken from the consideration tion of the House; but the first question was on the preamble, and then the resolutions could be decided. All those who agreed with him that the Legislature ought to act on the subject of emancipation might vote with him and all those who wished a bill to be reported might also vote with him, without the least inconsistency—and also move to bring in a bill. In regard to the remark of the

gentleman from Brunswick, he believed he had been long enough a member of the House to understand the rules, nor did he think he had violated them. He believed all the objects of gentlemen would be answered by considering the preamble.

Mr. Campbell of Brooke said that, although he was not very deeply versed in the rules of the House, he believed all could see the object of the preamble and its effect. The Committee reported that it was inexpedient to act upon the question of abolition; and the preamble stated their reasons for arriving at that conclusion. Should those, then, who desired to reverse the resolution, defer it until they should have adopted the reasons why the Committee had reported against acting upon the subject? The friends of active measures were not there to be entrapped. The proposition of the gentleman from Montgomery was the only correct one. How was it possible to go on to discuss a resolution to discharge from further consideration of the subject the Committee, who had pre-judged the question? It would be idle to discuss such a proposition. He was opposed to laying the Report on the table, and in favour of the motion of the gentleman from Montgomery, because it brought a tangible question before the House.

Mr. Newton hoped the motion to lay the report and amendment on the table would prevail. The gentleman from Albemarle (Mr. Randolph) had introduced to the House a subject of the most astounding character; and he hoped the House would allow that monstrous proposition to be discussed. The gentleman from Albemarle had prepared the laurel for his brow, and Mr. N. did not wish to deprive him of the honor of wearing it. But he wished to be allowed to write upon this wall, his solemn conviction that the gentleman from Albemarle had proposed a question which struck at the foundations of a Republican Government. He wished to present his views of this proposition, which brings us back to an absolute Democracy. He hoped that the question of abolition would now be considered and decided.

Mr. Williams put the question to the gentleman from Goochland, whether the same liberty of debate would be allowed in discussing the preamble as the original resolutions. He spoke to the question of order. He trusted, that after so many gentlemen had been heard—after the question had been debated for several days, a new subject was not to be introduced to distract that discussion. The West had been spoken of in invedious terms in this debate, and remarks that had been made in a debate on the original question, ought to be replied to in continuation of the same subject. He believed that, however clear and microscopic the topics might be, which the gentleman considered embraced in this debate, they would expand to such an extent that they could not be embraced by the vision of any man. He hoped the gentleman from Hanover would be allowed to proceed.

Mr. Moore remarked, that if the gentleman from Goochland pressed the adoption of the preamble at this time, although in favor of it, he, (Mr. M.) must vote against it.

Mr. Miller of P., rose, not to debate this question, but to endeavour to relieve the House from Parliamentary difficulty. The resolution of the gentleman from Mecklenberg embraced two propositions—the one to discharge the Committee from the further consideration of the subject of abolition, and the other declaring it inexpedient now to legislate on the subject. The substitute of the gentleman from Albemarle embraced a specific proposition. Those propositions had been discussed, and he thought it better that the debate should be continued upon them. The second proposition of the gentleman from Mecklenberg was the same as that of the resolution of the Committee. It states that it is not expedient to legislate at all on the subject, while the report declares it not expedient to legislate on it at this time. The former opened the question a little wider than the latter; otherwise they were the same. He thought it therefore advisable to lay the report on the table, and allow the debate to proceed.

Mr. Carter of P. W. rose to move that the House take up the whole subject—report an amendment—resolution and substitute.

Mr. Bryce expressed his willingness to withdraw his amendment, with the understanding, that before the report was finally

acted upon, his proposition should be decided by the House.

Mr. Marshall was happy that the preamble was withdrawn. He agreed with the gentleman from Goochland as to the propriety of that preamble, but at present it was not the subject on which the House could act.

Mr. Bryce having withdrawn his amendment, the question was taken to lay on the table and decided in the negative—Ayes 60. Noes 62.

Mr. Preston moved that the resolution reported from the Committee be amended by striking out the word "inexpedient" and inserting the word "expedient," so as to reverse the decision of the Committee.

Mr. Roane then addressed the House at considerable length, and was followed by Messrs. Wood of Albemarle, and Preston.

At the conclusion of these speeches,

Mr. Knox said he had been pleased and surprised, and astounded, at the opinions which he had heard expressed this day. Such was now the position of things, that every man was called on imperiously to stand to his post. But perceiving that the House was exhausted, and the hour a late one, he moved the adjournment.

TUESDAY, January 17, 1832.

"ABOLITION OF SLAVERY."

On motion of Mr. Newton, the report of the Committee on Slaves and Free Negroes was taken up.

Mr. Knox addressed the House on the subject, and was followed by Messrs. Summers and Chandler.

WEDNESDAY, January 18, 1832.

"SLAVES, FREE NEGROES," &c.

Mr. Dabney presented a petition of sundry citizens of the county of King William, for the removal of the free people of color from the Commonwealth, and for the purchase of a portion of the slaves, and their removal.

Mr. Dabney remarked, in presenting this petition, that he regretted it had not reached him earlier, and before the committee on the subject had reported. He had arrived at the same conclusion with the committee, that nothing could be done beyond the removal of the free negroes. But in compliance with the will of his constituents, he might be willing to go so far as to agree to the passage of a law for sending out of the country all slaves voluntarily emancipated. But beyond this he could not go.

Mr. Sims moved to lay the petition on the table, which was opposed by Mr. Dabney, who urged its reference.

Mr. Sims replied, observing that as there was now before the House a motion to discharge the committee from the further consideration of the subject, and as a report from the committee had already been presented, he thought it improper to refer this petition.

The petition having been read on motion of Mr. Moore, Mr. Sims withdrew his motion to lay on the table, and it was referred.

"ABOLITION OF SLAVERY."

On motion of Mr. Brown, the report of the Committee on the subject of Slavery, and the amendment thereto of Mr. Preston, was taken up.

Mr. Brown addressed the House in a speech of about two hours in length, and was followed by Mr. Garland.

THURSDAY, January 19, 1832.

"ABOLITION OF SLAVERY."

On motion of Mr. Williams, the report of the Committee on Slaves and Free Negroes, adverse to any measure on the subject of emancipation, was taken up.

Mr Williams addressed the House, and the remainder of the day was occupied by Mr. Shell.

FRIDAY, January 20, 1832.

"ABOLITION OF SLAVERY."

On motion of Mr. Randolph, the report of the Committee on Slaves, Free Negroes, &c., and the amendment of Mr. Preston were taken up.

Mr. Randolph addressed the House at great length, and was followed by Messrs. Newton and Berry.

TUESDAY, January 24, 1832.

On motion of Mr. Goode, the report of the Committee on Slaves and the amendment offered by Mr. Preston were taken up.

Mr. Goode addressed the House in support of the Report, and in defence of the course he had taken, in a speech of about

two hours in length, and was followed by Mr. Jones.

Mr. Moore then spoke at considerable length in reply to various members.

WEDNESDAY, *January 25th*, 1832.

On motion of Mr. Wilson of B. the Report of the Committee on the colored population, and Mr. Preston's amendment thereto, was taken up.

Mr. Rutherfoord explained the reasons on which he should vote against the amendment.

Mr. Bolling addressed the House at much length.

Messrs. Patteson of C., Brooker, Brodnax, Jones, Ball, Gallagher, Roane, Gholson and Moore continued the debate.

Mr. Rives said he merely wished to point out to the gentleman from Montgomery (Mr. Preston) the anomalous position in which the house was placed by his motion to amend the report. Mr. R. did not believe there was a member in the House who was in favor of legislating upon the subject of abolition this year. In saying this he did not regret that the debate upon the subject had taken place; on the contrary, he thought it would be highly beneficial. Yet, if this motion were to be voted upon as the measure of the friends of abolition, this result would happen; it would be entered on the Journal that the House voted for acting this year—at the same time every member, when asked the question, said he was not in favour of acting. The report seemed to him fully in accordance with the views even of those members who were in favor of abolition. He could not speak positively, but he did not think there was a member from a county east of the Ridge, who would vote for the amendment. There were many gentlemen who like himself would declare that their opinions were not changed as to the subject of abolition, but who did not wish to have it put down on the Journal that they were ready for action now, when in reality they were not. The whole subject was still before the Committee, and a vote upon the Report would procure the sense of the House.

Mr. Preston declined withdrawing his motion. He wished the House to decide whether they would adopt some preliminary mode of action. If any scheme should be presented which did not meet his approbation, he should not consider himself pledged by his vote for the amendment, to vote for it.

Mr. Rives said that if the gentleman would submit a motion to recommit the report to the Committee, with instructions to report upon a plan of abolition, it would meet the views of the House. If the amendment was agreed to, the Committee would as a matter of course be instructed to bring in a bill,—while there was not, he believed, a single member who thought a plan could be presented for which they would be willing to vote. The gentleman from Montgomery shakes his head, said Mr. R. I believe he is alone, if he is prepared to go for any plan of abolition at this time.

Mr. Wilson of B. said, that as voting for the amendment would imply no pledge to vote for any particular measure that would take from the citizen his property, he should vote for the amendment. A large number of the citizens of Botetourt were convinced that the existence of slavery was an evil, and desired the adoption of some measure which should tend to its ultimate removal. They had asked that something should be done—nor could he return to them and say that he had made no exertion to meet their wishes. He should, therefore, vote for the amendment.

Mr. Witcher said he did not rise to make a speech. He had listened to all the speeches which had been made on this subject, with the most profound attention, and he now rose to make a motion, the first he had made since this question came before the House. His motion was that the Report and amendment be indefinitely postponed. He made this motion because if the House voted out—as he had no doubt they would—the amendment of the gentleman from Montgomery, discussion would be excited by other attempts to amend. He wished to prevent this, and he also wished, if possible, to obtain the vote of each member, pro or con, on the question of abolition.

The question being then put on the indefinite postponement, it was negatived by the following vote:

Ayes. Messrs. Banks (Speaker,) Grinalds, Booker, Campbell of B., Pate, Gholson,

Shell, Patteson of B., Daniel, Halyburton, Richardson, Patteson of C., Pendleton, Broadus, Wilson of C., Brodnax, Ritchie, Ball, Chilton, Stillman, Hale of F., Woods of F., Bryce of F., Smith of F., Smith of G., Spencer, Bruce, Sims, Graveley, Jordan, Shield, Gallaher, Harwood, Hooe, Dabney, Carter of L. and R., Poindexter, Street, Hudgins, Goode of M., Knox, Webb, Cabell, Fisher, Harvey, Anderson of N., Davis, Witcher, Swanson, Miller, Dupuy, Sand, Lhands, Carter of P. W., Carson, Cobb, Crump, Hargrave, Newton and Brown—60.

Noes. Messrs. Drummond, Wood of A., Randolph, Persinger, Garland, McCue, Brooke, Cameron, Faulkner, Goode of B., Anderson of B., Wilson of B., Campbell of B., Bolling, Spurlock, Rives, Jones, Marshall, Stephenson, Helms, Wood of Fred., Snidow, Bryce of G., Erskine, Carskadon, Poston, Roane, Mullen, Williams, Johnson, Mayo, Berry, Summers, Allen, Hays, Lawson, McIlhaney, Cordell, Caldwell, Smith of M. J., Billingsly, Henry, Vawter, Preston, Chandler, Leigh, Fitzhugh, Parriott, Robertson, Hiner, Gilliland, Zinn, Hart, Moore, McDowell, McMahon, Cline, Jessee, Kilgore, Bare, Powell, Moncure, Gillespie, McCoy, McCullock, Keller, Morriss, Crockett, King and Rutherfoord—71.

The question then recurring on Mr. Preston's amendment, it was determined in the negative by the following vote :

Ayes. Messrs. Drummond, Randolph, Persinger, Garland, McCue, Brooke, Cameron, Faulkner, Goode of B., Anderson of B., Wilson of B., Campbell of Brooke, Bolling, Spurlock, Jones, Stephenson, Helms, Wood of F., Snidow, Hail, Erskine, Carskadon, Poston, Williams, Johnson, Mayo, Summers, Allen, Hays, Lawson, McIlhany, Cordell, Caldwell, Smith of M., and J., Billingsly, Henry, Vawter, Preston, Fitzhugh, Parriott, Robertson, Hinor, Gilliland, Zinn, Hart, Moore McDowell, McMahon, Cline, Jessee, Kilgore, Bare, Gillespie, McCoy, McCullock, Keller, Morriss, Crockett—58.

Noes. Messrs. Banks (Speaker,) Grinalds, Wood of A., Booker, Campbell of Bedford, Pate, Gholson, Shell, Patteson of B., Rives, Daniel, Halyburton, Richardson, Patteson of C., Pendleton, Broadus, Wilson of C., Brodnax, Ritchie, Ball, Chilton, Marshall, Stillman, Hale, Wood of Franklin, Bryce of F., Smith of F., Smith of G., Bryce of G., Spencer, Bruce, Sims, Roane, Mullen, Graveley, Jordan, Shield, Gallaher, Berry, Harwood, Hooe, Dabney, Carter of L. and R., Poindexter, Street, Hudgings, Goode of M., Knox, Webb, Cabell, Chandler, Leigh, Fisher, Harvey, Anderson of N., Davis, Witcher, Swanson, Miller, Dupuy, Land, Shands, Carter of P. W., Carson, Cobb, Powell, Moncure, Crump, Hargrave, Newton, King, Brown and Rutherfoord—73.

Mr. Bryce of G., then offered the preamble—proposed by him at a former stage of the discussion, and sustained it by some brief remarks.

Mr. Booker moved to postpone the report and amendment until the 31st. March. Rejected, Ayes 56. Noes 66.

Mr. Sims opposed the preamble at some length—some further discussion took place, in which Messrs. Bryce of Goochland, Witcher, Miller, Brodnax, Brown, Marshall and Gallaher took a part—the question was taken on the preamble, which was adopted by the following vote :

Ayes. Messrs. Grinalds, Randolph, Persinger, Garland, McCue, Brooke, Cameron, Faulkner, Goode of B., Wilson of B., Campbell of Brooke, Bolling, Spurlock, Rives, Jones, Wood of F., Bryce of F., Snidow, Bryce of G., Hail, Erskine, Carskadon, Poston, Roane, Mullen, Williams, Johnson, Gallaher, Berry, Summers, Hooe, Allen, Hays, Lawson, McIlhaney, Cordell, Caldwell, Smith of M. and J., Billingsly, Henry, Vawter, Preston, Chandler, Leigh, Fitzhugh, Parriott, Robertson, Hiner, Gilliland, Zinn, Hart, Moore, McDowell, McMahon, Cline, Jessee, Kilgore, Bare, Powell, Moncure, McCoy, McCullock, Keller, Crockett, King, Rutherfoord, 67.

Noes. Messrs. Banks (Speaker,) Wood of A., Patteson of B., Daniel, Halyburton, Richardson, Patteson of C., Pendleton, Broaders, Wilson of C., Brodnax, Ritchie, Ball, Chilton, Marshall, Stillman, Helms, Hale of F., Woods of Franklin, Smith of F. Smith of G., Spencer, Bruce, Sims, Gravelly, Jordan, Shield, Harwood, Dabney, Carter of L. and R., Poindexter, Street, Hudgings, Goode of M., Knox, Webb, Cabell, Fisher, Harvey, Anderson of N., Davis, Witcher, Swan-

son, Miller, Dupuy, Land, Shands, Carter of P. Wm., Carson, Cobb, Crump, Hargrave, Gillespie, Newton, Brown, 60.

The question then recurred on the resolution of the Committee, and was decided in the affirmative without a division—and the question being taken on the Report of the Committee as amended, it was adopted by the following vote—the Ayes and Noes having been ordered on motion of Mr. Ritchie.

Ayes. Messrs. Grinalds, Randolph, Persinger, Garland, McCue, Brooke, Cameron, Faulkner, Goode of B., Wilson of B., Campbell of B., Bolling, Spurlock, Rives, Jones, Wood of F., Bryce of F., Snidow, Bryce of G., Hail, Erskine, Preston, Roane, Mullen, Williams, Johnson, Mayo, Gallaher, Berry, Summers, Hooe, Allen, Hays, McIlhaney, Cordell, Caldwell, Smith of M. and J., Henry, Vawter, Preston, Chandler, Leigh, Fitzhugh, Parriott, Robertson, Hiner, Gilliland, Zinn, Hart, Moore, McDowell, McMahon, Cline, Jessee, Kilgore, Bare, Powell, Moncure, McCoy, McCullock, Keller, Crockett, King, Rutherfoord—64.

Noes. Messrs. Banks (Speaker,) Wood of A, Booker, Campbell of B., Pate, Gholson, Shell, Patteson of B., Daniel Halyburton, Richardson, Patteson of C., Pendleton, Broadus, Wilson of C., Brodnax, Ritchie, Ball, Chilton, Marshall, Stillman, Helms, Hale of F., Woods of F., Smith of F., Smith of G., Spencer, Bruce, Sims, Gravely, Jordan, Shield, Harwood, Dabney, Carter of L. and R., Poindexter, Street, Hudgings, Goode of M., Knox, Webb, Cabell, Fisher, Harvey, Anderson of N., Witcher, Swanson, Miller, Dupuy, Land, Shands, Carter of P. W., Carson, Cobb, Crump, Hargrave, Gillespie, Newton, Brown, 59.

The Report as amended is as follows:

The Select Committee, to whom was referred certain memorials praying the passage of a law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in this Commonwealth, have, according to order, had the same under consideration, and submit the following report and resolution:

Profoundly sensible of the great evils arising from the condition of the colored population of this Commonwealth: induced by humanity as well as policy to an immediate effort for the removal in the first place, as well of those who are now free, as of such as may hereafter become free; believing that this effort, while it is in just accordance with the sentiments of the community on the subject, will absorb all our present means; and that a further action for the removal of the slaves should await a more definite development of public opinion.

Resolved, as the opinion of this Committee, that it is inexpedient, for the present, to make any Legislative enactments for the abolition of slavery.

Chapter VII.

Debate in the General Assembly of Virginia upon the removal of free negroes, &c. Measures proposed in the House of Delegates. Substitute of Mr. Morgan of the Senate. Votes upon the various propositions.

Friday, *January 27th.* 1832.

"FREE NEGROES."

Mr. Brodnax, from the Committee on the Slaves and Free Negroes, introduced a bill to provide for the removal of the free persons of color from this Commonwealth.

Mr. Miller said the importance of this bill made it proper that it should be printed.

Mr. Brodnax said that it had been contemplated by him, that, at some appropriate stage of the proceedings on this bill, it would be necessary to print it; but he thought the principle on which the House would act should first be ascertained.

Mr. Marshall said that two courses were to be considered—one leading to a compulsory measure for the removal of free persons of colour,—the other a more benignant method of proceeding. The course which the House would take would, he had no doubt, accord with the views of the gentleman from Powhatan, but that question had best be first acted on.

Mr. Miller said, that if the question was now before the House, whether the measure should be compulsory or otherwise, the Committee had better ask instructions. He was not now prepared for any compulsory measure.

On motion of Mr. Brodnax, the Clerk proceeded to read the bill.

Mr. Williams said, that every gentleman must know the objects of this bill—and he

thought the reading of it ought to be deferred, as the House, from the excessive coldness of the weather, was now very thin. He therefore moved to lay the bill on the table, which was agreed to—Ayes 45, Noes 45—the Speaker voting in the affirmative.

And the bill was, on motion of Mr. Williams, ordered to be printed.

MONDAY, *January* 30*th*. 1832.

The following resolution, reported by the Committee on Free Negroes, was taken up and agreed to:

Resolved, That it is expedient to apply to the General Government to procure a territory or territories beyond the limits of the United States, to which the several States may remove their free colored population.

At a subsequent period of the proceedings, Mr. Brodnax moved the re-consideration of the vote on the above resolution—observing that it was not the intention of the Committee to press the consideration of this resolution, until the bill relative to the removal of free persons of colour should have been acted upon; as it would be unnecessary to provide a territory for their reception unless the Legislature should determine upon their removal.

Messrs. Williams and Moore opposed the re-consideration.

TUESDAY, January 31, 1832.

On motion of Mr. Brodnax, the bill providing for the removal of free persons of color from this Commonwealth, was taken up, and read twice.

Mr. Brodnax moved that the bill be committed to the whole House, and made the order of the day for Monday next.

Mr. Witcher was opposed to referring the bill to the Committee of the Whole, as the discussion would in that case be had twice over. The House in Committee of the Whole was always thin; and he thought that it was better to allow the bill to come before the House, and hoped the gentleman would withdraw his motion.

Mr. Brodnax said it was not possible to suit every one; many gentlemen were in favor of referring the bill to a Committee of the Whole, and he was among the number. There was one feature of the bill on which there was a great diversity of opinion, and that must be settled before the bill could be definitely acted upon. There was no danger that on so interesting a subject the House would be thin. In case the bill was presented to a Committee of the Whole, it would not necessarily be discussed over twice, as, if the principle were settled, the remaining provisions of the bill were merely necessary details. Gentlemen who had anything to say, would express themselves at one time or another. He should therefore prefer that the bill should go to a Committee of the Whole.

Mr. Witcher argued that the bill had better be brought before the House at once, and the principle could there be decided on; and the subject could be referred back to the committee which brought it in, with instructions to bring in a bill conformably to the decisions of the House.

Mr. Carter of P. W. hoped the motion would not be withdrawn. He should suppose that this question would not be liable to the objection of the gentleman from Pittsylvania, as its importance would insure a full attendance. It was only less important than the question which had already been discussed. If it were on the score of economy, it was hardly applicable to a comprehensive plan like this. He had heard it said, and he thought with justice, that the Legislature of Virginia often squandered both time and money in attempting to get at the most economical way of doing things.—He hoped it would not be so in the present case.

Mr. Witcher said he wished, if this question went to the Committee of the Whole, that the House would mark whether he or the other gentlemen were in the right.

The question on referring to the Committee of the Whole, was decided in the affirmative. and the bill was made the order of the day for Monday next.

MONDAY, February 6, 1832.

REMOVAL OF FREE NEGROES.

On motion of Mr. Brodnax, the order of the day being a bill to provide for the removal of the free coloured population from this Commonwealth, was taken up, and the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. Millar in the Chair.

Mr. Brodnax said that the main question presented to the committee was the principle embraced in the first section of the bill, whether the removal of this class of persons should be compulsory or not. He hoped, therefore, that some gentleman, opposed to a compulsory measure, would move to amend that section, and thus bring the question at once before the committee.

The following is the first section of the bill:

Be it enacted, &c. That all persons of colour within the Commonwealth, who are now free, or who may hereafter become free therein, shall, in the manner, in the order, under the limitations, and with the exceptions hereinafter provided, be removed from this State to Liberia, or such place or places, on the western coast of Africa, as may be approved and designated by the Central Board of Commissioners for the removal of free persons of color, hereinafter constituted: or to such other place or places beyond the limits of the United States, as may by law hereafter be designated; and after such removal, shall be supported, in cases of individuals destitute of the means beyond an extent hereinafter defined, at the expense of the State, for such reasonable periods of time, and to such amount, as hereinafter specified and provided.

Mr. Campbell of Brooke moved to amend that section, by adding after the word 'shall' in the third line, these words, "with their own consent."

Mr. Brodnax opposed the amendment at considerable length. Mr. Marshall expressed himself opposed to the compulsory feature of the bill. Mr. Fisher opposed the amendment. Mr. B. of G. was in favor of the principle of the amendment, and after some conversation between him and Mr. Campbell of Brooke, and further discussion, in which Messrs. Marshall, Carber of P. W., Brodnax, Chandler and Bryce took part, the latter moved to amend the amendment, so as to remove the compulsory operation of the bill from those only who are now free and entitled by law to remain in the State, but to coerce the removal of such as are now within the Commonwealth, in violation of the laws, and such as may become free hereafter.

After some further debate, the amendment to the amendment was rejected, and the question being taken on Mr. Campbell's motion to amend, it was agreed to—Ayes 66, Noes 42.

Mr. Witcher moved to strike out the first section of the bill, which he supported with some remarks—rejected: when, on motion of Mr. Brodnax, the committee rose and reported.

The question then recurred in the House upon the adoption of the amendment of the committee.

Mr. Bryce moved to amend the amendment, so as to provide that free negroes "entitled by laws now in force to remain in this Commonwealth, shall, with their own consent, and all such who are not now allowed to reside here," and all who shall hereafter become free, shall be removed, &c.

Mr. Morris moved the indefinite postponement of the bill, and on his motion, the ayes and noes having been ordered, the vote resulted in the negative, as follows:

Ayes.—Messrs. Campbell of Bedford, Spurlock, Stephenson, Hale of Franklin, Woods of Franklin, Wood of Frederick, Snidow, Hail of Grayson, Bruce, Poston, Johnson, Graveley, Street, Goode of Mecklenburg, Knox, Billingsley, Adams, Witcher, Swanson, Gilliland, Zinn, Hart, Jessee, Kilgore, Bare, Carson, Gillespie, Morris—28.

Noes.—Messrs. Banks, (speaker,) Grinalds, Wood of A., Randolph, Booker, Garland, McCue, Brooke, Cameron, Faulkner, Goode of B., Anderson of B., Wilson of B., Campbell of B., Gholson, Patteson of B. Bolling, Rives, Daniel, Tod, Halyburton, Patteson of Chesterfield, Broadus, Wilson of Cumberland, Brodnax, Jones, Ritchie, Ball, Chilton, Marshall, Stillman, Smith of Frederick, Smith of Gloucester, Bryce, Erskine, Spencer, Sims, Carskadon, Roane, Mullen, Mays, Jordan, Shield, Gallaher, Berry, Summers, Harwood, Hooe, Carter of L. and R., Allen, Hays, Lawson, McIlheney, Cordell, Caldwell, Poindexter, Hudgins, Smith of Mason and Jackson, Henry, Vawter, Preston, Webb, Cabell, Chandler, Leigh, Fisher, Harvey, Fitzhugh, Parriott, Robertson, Hiner, Miller, Dupuy, Land, Shands, Carter of Prince William, Moore, McDowell, McMahon, Cline, Cobb, Powell, Mon-

cure, Crump, Hargrave, McCoy, McCulloch, Keller, Newton, Crockett, King, Brown and Rutherfoord—94.

On motion of Mr. Brodnax, the bill and amendments were laid on the table.

TUESDAY, February 7, 1832.

On motion of Mr. Marshall, the bill providing for the removal of the free people of color from this Commonwealth, was taken up, with the amendment adopted in Committee of the Whole, and the amendment to that amendment offered yesterday by Mr. Bryce of G.

Mr. Miller moved that the bill be recommitted to the committee which brought it in, with instruction so to amend the same as to provide for the gradual removal of the free people of color beyond the limits of this Commonwealth: First, of those who are entitled by the present laws to remain, but who are willing to remove; secondly, of those who may be manumitted by their masters for the purpose of removal; and that the committee further provide that such free people of colour as are now residing in the different counties of this Commonwealth contrary to law, and are not willing to remove beyond its limits, shall be hired out until a sufficient sum be raised by the hire of each to remove him or her out of this Commonwealth.

A long discussion took place on this motion, in which Messrs. Miller, Bryce of G., Marshall, Brodnax and Brown, on whose motion it was laid on the table.

Discussion then arose on the amendment to the amendment of the Committee of the Whole, proposed by Mr. Bryce of G., (as reported yesterday,)in which Messrs. Brown, Bryce, Campbell of Brooke, Jones, Brodnax, Williams and McDowell took part, when the question being put, Mr. B.'s amendment was rejected.—Ayes 49, noes 77.

The question then recurring on the amendment of the Committee of the Whole, after considerable debate, in which Messrs. Gholson, Wood of Albemarle, and Witcher took part, the ayes and noes were ordered, on motion of Mr. Roane, and the vote was as follows:

Ayes.—Messrs. Drummond, Randolph, Persinger, McCue, Brooke, Cameron, Campbell of Bedford, Pate, Goode of Berkeley, Campbell of Brooke, Gholson, Patteson of Buckingham, Spurlock, Rives, Daniel, Jr., Patteson of Chesterfield, Ball, Chilton, Marshall, Stephenson, Stillman, Hale of Franklin, Wood of Fred., Bryce of Fred., Bryce of Gooch., Erskine, Sims, Carskadon, Poston, Mullen, Johnson, Gallaher, Berry, Summers, Allen, Hays, Lawson, McIlhaney, Cordell, Caldwell, Smith of Mason and Jackson, Billingsly, Henry, Vawter, Preston, Webb, Cabell, Leigh, Parriott, Robertson, Hiner, Gilliland, Miller, Zinn, Dupuy, Land, Carter of P. Wm., Hart, McDowell, McMahon, Cline, Jessee, Bare, Carson, Cobb, Powell, Gillespie, McCoy, Keller, Newton, King—71.

Noes.—Messrs. Banks (Speaker) Grinalds, Wood of Albermarle, Booker, Garland, Faulkner, Anderson of Botetourt, Wilson of Botetourt, Bolling, Dickinson, Halyburton, Richardson, Pendleton, Broaders, Wilson of Cumberland, Brodnax, Jones, Ritchie, Helms, Woods of Frederick, Smith of Frederick, Snidow, Smith of Glou., Hail of Grayson, Spencer, Bruce, Roane, Williams, Gravely, Jordan, Shield, Harwood, Hooe, Dabney, Poindexter, Street, Goode of Meck., Chandler, Fisher, Harvey, Davis, Adams, Witcher, Swanson, Shands, Moore, Kilgore, Moncure, Crump, Hargrave, Morris, Crockett, Brown, Rutherfoord—54.

The amendment adopted makes the first section of the bill read as follows: "That all persons of colour within this Commonwealth, who are now free, shall, with their own consent, in the manner, in the order, &c," be removed from this State to Liberia, &c.

Mr. Williams moved to amend the 13th. section of the bill, by appending to it the following: "and that the sums to be appropriated for the removal of said free persons of colour shall be levied on slaves and free negroes." Rejected.

The motion of Mr. Miller to recommit, &c., (above cited) was then taken up and agreed to. Ayes 83, Noes 40.

WEDNESDAY, *February 15th.* 1832.

On motion of Mr. Brodnax, the substitute for the bill providing for the removal of free persons of colour from this Commonwealth, was taken up. (A long and animated debate took place on the various amendments

proposed, of which we can give only a brief glance at the principal points.)

Mr. Wilson of B. moved to amend the substitute by striking out the words "one hundred thousand dollars," from the 10th section, (the appropriation for 1833) and to insert instead, fifty thousand dollars. Mr. W. thought that if the appropriation was so large, it would go in advance of public sentiment. It was better to appropriate 50,000 dollars for 1833, and the same sum for each year thereafter.

Mr. Bryce proposed the division of the question so as to decide first upon striking out, which was acceded to by Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Brodnax had no objection to the motion, as a test whether the House was in earnest as to the measure. But to fill the blank with a smaller sum, would be to destroy the bill.

Mr. Wilson of B. defended his motion. If too large an appropriation was made, propositions would probably be made next year to repeal the act altogether. It was better to effect the object by degrees.

Mr. Campbell of Brooke thought public sentiment was in favor of efficient action. The additional taxation required would be but trifling, and would not demand that the taxes should be higher than they were previous to last year.

Mr. Bryce of G. supported the motion. He believed it was the object of the bill to remove the free negroes to Liberia. If so, a large sum would not be required, as he was informed that the Colony could not receive a larger number than 30 or $40,000 would remove this year, and 50 or $60,000 afterwards.

Mr. Daniel was in favor of the removal; but the House was not sufficiently directed by the people to authorize the levying of heavy taxes for this object. It ought to be deferred until next year. He was therefore in favour of striking out.

The motion was then agreed to.

Mr. Crockett moved to fill the blank with $90,000. He thought the original sum was not too much. He believed the gentleman from Botetourt was mistaken as to the course of public sentiment, and that this measure ought to be made effectual.

Mr. Preston said that he should vote against the proposition, and should also move to strike out the provision for an annual appropriation of $200,000 after 1833. Future Legislature ought not to be pledged by this act, and a small sum ought to be appropriated until it was ascertained what amount would be required. He did not know that his constituents would agree to the taxation of all description of property for this object. If he should represent them next year, he should know their views and could act accordingly.

Mr. Marshall said that there was a blank for the sum to be appropriated this year, and the sum for 1833 would be perfectly under the control of the next year's Legislature. They could reduce it if too large. He thought with the gentleman from Montgomery, that the sum of $200,000 for after years ought to be struck out and left blank. An appropriation for 1833 was necessary to carry out the plan.

Mr. Carter of P. W. said, if less than $90,000 was inserted, it would nullify the bill. A friend of his had said the other day, that he was friendly to the measure, if he could be assured that all the free negroes would be removed; but he was opposed to the removal of a part. Mr. C. observed that this was an experiment and if it succeeded, the whole would be removed.

Mr. Preston thought the very argument of the gentleman from P. W. afforded reasons for confining the appropriation to a small amount. This was, as was said by that gentleman, merely an experiment, and until it had been tested, the State ought not to embark too deeply in it.

Mr. Brodnax said, that the plan could not be effected without means. He thought that gentlemen did not act consistently, who had opposed the coercive plan, upon the supposition, that sufficient numbers would be willing to go, and now wished to deny the means of deporting those who should be willing. It was not proposed to send them to Liberia alone, as other places were contemplated. All that was wanted was money, the lever which Archimides wanted to lift the world. The taxes required would not be too heavy. Mr. B. made some statements by which he computed, that about 15 cents on each freeholder would compass the whole

amount. He believed the people were in favour of the measure, and would not refuse to supply the means.

Mr. Wilson of B. made some explanations and opposed the motion of Mr. Crockett.

Mr. Campbell of Brooke expressed a belief that the people would sustain the measure. He illustrated the position that the additional taxation required for this object would not be heavily felt,—it would be in the ratio of 2 cents addition on a horse. He wished this measure to be the stepping stone to a greater object.

Mr. Bryce asked what was to be done with $90,000 if it were appropriated. He replied to the remark of Mr. Brodnax as to the consistency of those who wished to reduce the amount. He did not think coercion necessary, nor did he think $100,000 necessary. He thought the statement of the gentleman from P. W., that this was an experiment, correct, and he therefore argued that the appropriation need not be so large as was proposed.

Mr. Brodnax rejoined.

Mr. Carter of P. W., explained his previous remarks. He had said that this was to be an experiment, but it would be to insure its failure, to refuse sufficient means. If the whole amount appropriated was not needed, the surplus would remain in the Treasury.

Mr. Crockett said that they had gone on thus far, without a formal consultation of public opinion, and he believed in accordance with the wishes of the people; nor did he think they would complain at the necessary appropriations.

Mr. Bolling stated many considerations on which they ought to remove the free negroes. Ample means for the object ought to be provided. He felt chagrined that gentlemen who had warmly advocated a much greater enterprise should now recoil at this comparatively trifling measure.

Mr. Preston rejoined, and some explanations took place between Messrs. Bolling and Preston.

Mr. Witcher had heard the gentleman from Goochland ask how $90,000 were to be expended—and Mr. W. asked how $60,000 were to be applied, and how much the agents, who were to be appointed to go through the country and preach up the removal, were to be paid.

Mr. Bryce of G. said he had been informed that the Colony at Liberia could not receive over 600 individuals this year, and double that number next year.

Mr. Marshall said he had been informed that 1000 could be received this year, 2000 next year, and 3000 the year after.

Mr. Bryce said he believed the numbers stated by the gentleman from Fauquier included the whole number from the United States. Mr. B's statement included only those which could be received from Virginia. He could not say what would be the compensation of agents; but he believed those attached to the Colonization Society would receive nothing. Mr. B. considered the computation of $35, per capita for deportation &c., too small.

Mr. Marshall said that the computation of the gentleman from Goochland was founded upon the consideration of the capacity of the colony to receive emigrants in its present condition; but if the State of Virginia entered into this measure, its means would at once be increased. Whatever sum was appropriated, it was absolutely necessary that provision should be made for the protection of the colonists against the sun and rain after their arrival. He believed that $35, would be amply sufficient for each emigrant. If Virginia joined in aid of the Society, there was no knowing how much money would be usefully employed. For this reason, he wished that the sum of $90,000 might be inserted.

Mr. Summers should vote for the motion of the gentleman from Wythe. He shou'd have voted for one hundred thousand dollars, and indeed for a larger sum. He held it expedient, in commencing such a plan, that ample means should be provided. The object was not only to remove free negroes, but to encourage manumission throughout the United States, and pave the way to the ultimate removal of the slaves themselves. In commencing such a scheme, Virginia should shew to the world she was now in earnest. She should not put her foot into the water and draw back again, but launch forth with boldness and energy. He believed there was no want of persons who were

willing to go, and he was of opinion that a sufficient number of Colonists could be obtained from this city, to absorb the whole $90,000.

The question being then taken upon Mr. Crockett's motion, it was decided in the affirmative.

Ayes 67, Noes 54.

Mr. Brown moved to amend the bill by striking out the 5th. and 7th. sections which provide for the removal of slaves manumitted by their masters, without a provision for their removal. He was in favor of removing all the free negroes, but when it was considered that the whole of our disposable funds would be absorbed for the next ten years, by the removal of those already free, he was opposed to increasing the class, by allowing owners to manumit their slaves with no provision made for their removal. Mr. Brown went at length into various reasons for his motion.

Mr. Campbell of Brooke hoped the motion would not prevail. If it did, unless he were convinced of its expediency by future reasoning, he should go against the whole bill. To strike out these provisions would have the effect entirely to prevent manumission.

Mr. Marshall said that the bill provided that no slave should be manumitted without immediate measures taken for his deportation. To strike out these sections would have the effect to discourage manumission with deportation. If manumitted without the means of removal, it was declared that they should be hired out until the sum should have been raised. In no case were they to remain as freemen in the State.

Mr. Gholson supported at considerable length the motion of Mr. Brown. It was intended to make it incumbent on those, who emancipated their slaves, to provide means for their removal, and to do away the hiring out by the public agents. It would be far better for the master, when he determined to manumit his slave, to retain him for a time sufficient to raise from his labour the sum required for his deportation. This would cause them to be removed immediately on becoming free. In most instances, the emancipator was able to pay for their removal.

Mr. Brodnax warned gentlemen, if they pressed this motion, that it would jeopardise the bill. He did not agree with the gentleman from Brunswick, that the emancipator would generally be able to pay for their deportation. There were many who would manumit their slaves, if means for their removal were furnished by the State, but who could not, with the additional burthen of removal. He hoped the gentleman would not press the amendment, or that the House would object it.

The motion to amend was then decided in the negative. Ayes 41, Noes 60.

Mr. Goode moved to strike from the 10th. section, after the appropriation for 1833, the provision for $200,000 annually thereafter, which was assented to by Mr. Marshall and Mr. Brodnax, who said that this sum was inserted by the Committee to carry out their plan; but as that plan had been deranged by previous amendments, he should vote for this motion. Agreed to.

Mr. Marshall moved to fill the blank in the 10th. section, for an appropriation for the present year, with $35,000, as he had been told by the gentleman at the head of the Committee of Finance, that a surplus of that amount was in the Treasury, and could be appropriated without resorting to taxation.

Mr. Bryce of G., (Chairman of the Committee of Finance) said that the sum could be appropriated, and he believed it would be amply sufficient for the present year. Agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Bryce of G., a blank in the 10th. section, providing a sum for the erection of places of shelter for the reception of the colonists at Liberia, was filled with 10,000 dollars. (This is part of the 35,000 dollars and not extra appropriation.

The motion to amend was adopted.

An amendment was also adopted leaving the sum to be paid for the deportation of each colonist discretionary with the Central Board of Commissioners—and a motion of Mr. Witcher to strike out the clause, empowering the Board to pay a reasonable compensation to agents &c., was rejected.

On motion of Mr. Bryce of G., the first section was amended, by striking out after the word "removed" these words, "to Liberia or such other place or places on the

Western Coast of Africa," and inserting in their stead these words: "beyond the limits of the United States, to such places as may be approved and designated by the Central Board," &c, so as to make the choice of places to which they shall be sent, discretionary with the Board.

Various other amendments of minor importance were adopted, when the substitute as amended, was agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

THURSDAY, *February 16th*, 1832.

The engrossed bill to provide for the removal of free persons of colour from this Commonwealth was read a third time; and the Ayes and Noes having been ordered, on motion of Mr. Helms, it was passed by the following vote:

Ayes. Messrs. Banks (Speaker) Grinalds, Randolph, Booker, Garland, McCue, Brooke, Cameron, Campbell of B., Pate, Anderson of B., Wilson of B., Campbell of B., Gholson, Shell, Patteson of B., Bolling, Daniel, Dickinson, Halyburton, Patteson of C., Wilson of C., Jones, Ritchie, Ball, Marshall, Stillman, Wood of F., Bryce of F., Smith of F., Smith of G., Bryce of G., Erskine, Spencer, Sims, Roane, Jordan, Shield, Gallaher, Berry, Summers, Harwood, Carter of S. and R., Allen, Hays, Lawson, McIlhaney, Cordell, Caldwell, Poindexter, Hudgings, Smith of M. and J., Vawter, Preston, Webb, Chandler, Leigh, Fisher, Harvey, Parriott, Robertson, Miller, Dupuy, Land, Shands, Carter of P. W., McDowell, McMahon, Cobb, Powell, Moncure, Hargrave, Keller, Newton, Crockett, King, Rutherfoord, Rives, Brodnax, 79.

Noes.—Messrs. Parsinger, Good of B., Spurlock, Richardson, Pendleton of C., Broadus, Chilton, Stephenson, Helms, Hale of F., Snidow, Hail of G., Bruce, Carskadon, Poston, Mullen, Johnson, Graveley, Street, Goode of M., Knox, Billingsly, Henry, Byrne, Fitzhugh, Davis, Adams, Hiner, Witcher, Swanson, Gilliland, Zinn, Cline, Jesse, Kilgore, Bare, Carson, Gillespie, McCoy, McCullock, 41.

AN ACT,

Providing for the removal of free persons of colour from this Commonwealth.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that such of the free persons of colour in this Commonwealth, as shall hereinafter be designated and classified for the purpose, shall, in the manner, in the order, and under the regulation hereinafter provided, be removed from Virginia to Liberia, or to such other place or places beyond the limits of the United States, as may be approved and designated by the Central Board of Commissioners hereinafter constituted; and supported for such reasonable time, and to such amount, as hereinafter specified and provided at the expense of the State.

2. For the purpose of supervising and regulating the necessary arrangements and operations for effecting the objects of this act, the Governor, the members of the Council of State, and the Treasurer, for the time being, shall be, and they are hereby constituted ex-offices, a Board of Commissioners, to be called and designated "The Central Board of Commissioners for the removal of free persons of colour," of whom the Governor shall be President, and any three of whom shall be a quorum, with power and authority to discharge and perform any or all of the duties prescribed by this act, or which may hereafter be assigned to the Board by law.

3. The said Central Board of Commissioners shall have power and authority to appoint and employ agents resident in Norfolk, Richmond, Petersburg, or other convenient places in the State, as they may find it convenient and necessary, for the purpose of chartering vessels, procuring necessary supplies, collecting and shipping emigrants, superintending their embarkation, selecting among a superabundant number of applicants for transportation the proper descriptions and classes of those to be preferred; or performing any other duties, deemed by the said Board essential to effect the objects of this act. And the said Central Board of commissioners shall have power, either directly, or through their agents, to contract on the part of the State with any individual, company or society, for the transportation of the said free persons of colour, or any of

them, and their temporary support thereafter, as hereinafter provided, and by their order to draw from the public treasury, to be audited and paid, as other public expenditures are now required by law to be settled, from time to time, as the purposes of this act may render it necessary, any sum or sums of money not exceeding the annual appropriation by law for the then current year for the purposes aforesaid. And the said Board of Commissioners shall also have power to prescribe and define, in orders for that purpose, to such subordinate agents, the particular duties to be performed by either or all of them, and require such returns of the manner in which they shall have respectively performed their duties, as the said Board may deem expedient. And the said Commissioners, or their agents, shall have power to require and take from any person or persons, entrusted with money or goods for any purposes prescribed herein, bonds under such penalties, and with such conditions and securities, as they may deem best calculated to enforce the due execution of the trusts confided to them. And the said Board of Commissioners shall also have full power and authority to take from an agent, or agents, to whom funds are confided, or by whom other duties are assumed, bonds with such penalties, conditions and securities as aforesaid, as they may deem it expedient to require.

4. The said subordinate agents shall, until provision be made by law for a regular compensation for their services, receive such amount annually, as the said Central Board shall deem it reasonable and just to allow, to be paid on their order, and of the annual appropriations hereinafter provided.

5. In effecting the removal of free persons of colour as aforesaid, the appropriation for each year shall be exclusively applied in the first instance, to the removal and subsequent temporary support as hereinafter provided, of those free negroes and mulattoes, who are entitled by existing laws of the State to remain in it, but who voluntarily consent to remove, and apply to the said Central Board, or its agents, for the means of transportation. The next class which shall be preferred for deportation, after all the applicants of the former class at any time shall have been provided for, shall consist of such free persons of colour, as are now residing in the Commonwealth contrary to law, but these shall in like manner be exhausted; the next class, which shall be selected, shall consist of those who may hereafter be manumitted for the purpose, but for whose removal, the former owner shall have made no provision. Those negroes and mulattoes who may hereafter be emancipated for the purpose, and for whose removal and temporary support the former owner shall have provided sufficient means, and those who not being entitled to remain in the State, but not consenting to remove, shall have been hired out until a sufficient sum is raised to defray the expenses of their removal, and subsequent temporary support as aforesaid, as herein provided, shall be removed by the Board, as soon as they may find it practicable and convenient.

6. Every free negro and mulatto, heretofore emancipated, and now remaining in this Commonwealth contrary to law, and their descendants so remaining, but failing to consent to be transported, as aforesaid, shall, by order of the Court of the county or corporation, in which they or any of them may be found, be hired out by the Sheriff, Sergeant or other proper officer, for such time as will raise a sum sufficient to defray the amount of expenses, as estimated, from time to time by the Central Board of Commissioners, necessary for his, her, or their transportation, and subsequent temporary support as aforesaid, provided such time do not exceed two years; and the amount so raised shall regularly, as may be prescribed by the said Board of Commissioners, be accounted for and paid by such sheriffs, Sergeants or other officers, to such agent or agents of the said Board, as may be appointed to receive it, with a statement of the names of the individuals from whose hire every item was raised. And every sheriff, Sergeant or other officer, who shall fail so to account for and pay such hire, when required so to do, by the said Central Board, or any authorized agent, shall forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars, to be recovered on motion, after ten days notice by the said Board, or any of its agents, for the use of the Board, before any Court of record within whose territorial ju-

risdiction such officer shall reside. Every free negro and mulatto, who shall thus have been hired for two years, but the amount of whose hires shall not be equal to the estimated expenses of transportation and subsequent temporary support as aforesaid; and all such females or children, as would not hire for any amount, or whose support would be chargeable, shall be forthwith removed as aforesaid, at the charge of the Commonwealth, next in order to the class secondly hereinbefore designated, provided, that no male above the age of forty five years, or female above the age of forty years, shall be transported without his or her free consent, unless the court of the county or corporation in which he or she resides, shall order his or her removal; and provided also, that no husband and wife shall be separated, though they belong to different classes as above enumerated, where each is willing to be removed: and in all cases where parents of any age are transported, their children under the age of sixteen if males, and fourteen if females, shall be removed with them. And the said Central Board of Commissioners shall have power, directly, or through its agents as aforesaid, to exercise a sound and humane discretion, as to the inclusion or exclusion of any particular individuals, in any particular shipment, and so to order and regulate all matters connected with the duties herein prescribed, as may, in their judgment, be best calculated to effect the great objects of this act.

7. And when any free persons of colour, belonging to the third class above enumerated, being such as shall have been hereafter emancipated for the purpose of transportation, but for whose removal the former owner shall have made no provision, cannot be removed by the said Board of Commissioners, or their agents, by reason of the two previous classes entitled to preference having consumed, in their removal and subsequent temporary support, the whole sum appropriated by law for the then current year, the said free persons of colour shall then be hired out, in the same manner, and by the same officers as herein before provided, and under the same liabilities and accountabilities, for such time not exceeding two years, as to enable the hires, together with any subsequent appropriation at the disposal of the said Commissioners, not pre-occupied by previous classes, to amount to a sum sufficient to effect the removal and subsequent temporary support of the said free persons of colour; whereupon they shall be transported as in other cases.

8. And for a declaration of what temporary support, immediately subsequent to transportation, shall be provided, and for what period of time it shall be continued to the emigrants as aforesaid: Be it further enacted, that the said Central Board of commissioners, shall have authority through their agents aforesaid, or any of them, to furnish either to the emigrants in person, or to such officer or other person, about to go with the said emigrants, and for their temporary support and accommodation on their arrival at the port of their destination, either money, clothing, food, tools of trade, or other necessary articles, in whole or in part, deemed more useful to them, to such an amount as the said Board may designate.

9. The said Board shall also have authority to advance, from time to time, out of each annual appropriation, any sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars, for the erection of receptacles or temporary shelters for the accommodation and comfort of the emigrants on their arrival at the places to which they shall be removed.

10. The sums of money hereinafter appropriated shall be disbursed under the authority in this act prescribed. in the removal and subsequent temporary support as aforesaid, of as many free persons of colour, annually, having due regard to the classification as aforesaid, as can for those amounts be so transported and temporarily supported. And for the purpose of carrying into execution the various purposes of this act, the sum of thirty five thousand dollars shall be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be applied to these purposes during the present year, so far, as in the opinion of the said Board of Commissioners, the same can be judiciously applied to them within the year. The sum of ninety thousand dollars shall be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be applied to these purposes, in and for the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty three. And if in the opinion of the said Board of Com-

missioners, the sum appropriated, for any given year, cannot judiciously and advantageously be used and applied during the year to the objects aforesaid, or if any portion thereof shall from any cause remain unexpended in any one year, the unexpended balance shall be carried forward as an addition to, and liable to disbursement, with the appropriation of the succeeding year.

This act shall commence and be in force from and after the passage thereof.

SENATE OF VIRGINIA.

Feb. 21. Mr. Dromgoole reported that the committee had considered the bill providing for the removal of free persons of color and made an amendment thereto.

Feb. 27th. The bill was taken up and a substitute proposed by Mr. Morgan and also amendments by Messrs. Dromgoole and Hunton, of which 185 copies were ordered to be printed. Substitue.

March 5th. Mr. Booker moved the indefinite postponement of the bill. Upon this motion the ayes and noes were demanded.

Ayes. Thom. Campbell, Nat. Alexander, Geo. Booker, Jos. Wyatt, E. Boyd, George Cowan and Jes. Edgington.

Noes. W. C. Holt (Speaker,) S. H. Parker, Ch. Cocke, Ch. Hunton, D. W. Patterson, J. Pennybacher, C. S. Morgan, F. E. Rives, J. G. Joynes, L. T. Dade, H. L. Opie, D. McComas, A. Beirne, J. B. Harvie, W. Basye, J. Cravens, J. M. Whoster, Geo. C. Dromgoole, Wm. Armistead, H. G. Winston, Wm. M. McCarty, C. Beale and Wm McComas.

Mr. Dromgoole moved to amend the 5th section of said bill by striking out the following words: "When these shall in like manner be executed, the next class which shall be selected shall consist of those who shall hereafter be manumitted for the purpose, but for whose removal the former owner shall have made no provision." Disagreed to by equal division, ayes 15, noes 15. Mr. Dromgoole moved to amend the 5th section by striking out the following words, "Who may hereafter be emancipated for the purpose, and for whose removal and temporary subsequent support the former owner shall have provided sufficient means. Disagreed to, ayes 15, noes 17. Mr. Harvie moved to strike out from 6th section the word "shall," and insert in lieu thereof the word "may." Ayes 5, noes 26.

Mr. Booker moved to strike out from 5th section these words, "The next class which shall be preferred for exportation, after all the applicants of the former class at any time shall have been provided for, shall consist of such free persons of color as are now residing in the Commonwealth contrary to law, but who may consent to be transported." Ayes 11, noes 20.

March 7th. Mr. Dromgoole moved to strike out from the fifth section of the bill these words, "And those who not being entitled to remain in the State, but not consenting to remove, shall have been hired out until a sufficient sum is raised to defray the expenses of their removal and subsequent temporary support as aforesaid as herein provided" Ayes 14, noes 16.

Mr. Booker moved to strike out the 10th section of said bill. Mr. Rives moved to amend said proposed amendment by striking out from said section the word ninety. Ayes 27, noes 4. Mr. Winston moved to insert the word fifty. Ayes 17, noes 14.

Mr. Rives moved to strike out the words fifty thousand dollars is hereby appropriated to be applied to these purposes for the year 1833. Ayes 12, noes 19.

The question then recurring on the motion to strike out the 10th section, it was disagreed to. Ayes 9, noes 22.

Mr. Hanson proposed to amend by inserting after the 5th section the following words, "Whenever application shall be made to said central Board for aid in the removal of any free persons of color, either directly or through any Agent of the said Board, such application shall be accompanied with a particular statement of the age and sex of the class to which they belong, and of the counties in which they reside.

"It shall be the duty of the said Board to keep a correct list of all such applicants, and in the expenditure of the fund hereinafter to be provided, to apportion the disbursement as nearly as may be consistently with the other provisions of this act, among the several counties, cities, &c., of this Commonwealth, from which such applications shall proceed according to their free colored popu-

lation respectively." Agreed to, ayes 16, noes 13.

Mr. Joynes proposed further to amend the bill by inserting after the 6th section this proviso, That nothing in this act shall be construed to repeal any part of the act of the 7th of April, 1831, concerning slaves, free negroes and mulattoes.

Mr. Patterson moved to amend the 6th section, by striking out from the word 'shall,' after the word 'aforesaid' included, and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'Be proceeded against in all respects as directed by the provisions of the act of the 7th of April, 1831.' Agreed to.

March 10th. On motion of Mr. McComas, the vote rejecting Mr. Dromgoole's amendment of March 7th, was re-considered and the amendment was adopted. Ayes 17, noes 13.

On motion of Mr. Dromgoole the 7th section was stricken out.

Mr. Patterson moved to amend said bill by inserting in lieu of the 7th section the following: "No slave shall hereafter be emancipated for any purpose, except upon the conditions &c. of the act of the 7th of April, 1831, concerning slaves, free negroes and mulattoes, and if any shall be emancipated contrary to the provisions thereof to take effect after the death of the testator without any power for transportation of such manumitted slave, the legal representative shall, if there be no other lien by law on the liberty of such emancipated slave, hire out him, her or them until a sufficient sum shall be received for the transportation and support of any free person of color. Provided that said Board shall in no case pay for the transportation of any free person of color who shall be able to pay these expenses out of his own resources. Disagreed to, ayes 13, noes 17.

Mr. Morgan offered the following substitute:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia, That such of the free negroes and mulattoes in the Commonwealth, desiring to move beyond the limits of the United States, as the courts of the counties and corporations, respectively, within which they may reside shall think proper to provide for, shall be removed to such place or places, beyond the limits of the United States, as the Governor shall designate, and be supported after their removal for a reasonable time, at the expense of the counties and corporations, respectively, from whence they shall have been so removed; and the manner, regulations and conditions for the removal, and subsequent temporary support of such persons, shall be presented by the Governor.

2nd. It shall be the duty of each county and corporation court, in the month of May, in every year, to consider and decide on the propriety of providing for the removal and subsequent temporary support of such of the free negroes and mulattoes, as in the opinion of the court ought to be removed with their own consent. The court shall decide that they will or will not provide for the removal aforesaid, and their determination shall be entered of record and be final for that year. If it shall be their determination to provide for the removal of any of the said persons, they shall make an order declaring what classes and description of free negroes, and mulattoes shall be removed at public expense, what number of persons they will provide for that year, and the amount of money they will allow for the removal and temporary support of each person, which shall in no case be less than $30 00. And it shall be the duty of the clerk to register in a book to be provided and kept for that purpose, the name and description of each person who shall apply, at any time before, or during the next succeeding term of the court, at which said next term, it shall be the duty of the court to ascertain the number of the applicants, their classes and descriptions; and if there be more than were authorised at the preceding term, or any not coming within the classes and descriptions so authorised, they shall designate among the applicants those to be removed; and immediately levy on the subjects of taxation within the county or corporation by a fair and equal percentum, on the amount of the public revenue for that year, a sum sufficient to effect the objects aforesaid, and to defray the expenses of providing for, collecting, and paying the money so levied into the treasury of the State. The clerk shall as soon as practicable thereafter, under the order and instruction of the court, deliver to the sheriff, or other collector of

the money so levied, as shall be necessary to enable him to collect the same; and also transmit to the auditor of public accounts a copy thereof, to enable him to settle with the sheriff or collector, and also transmit to the Governor a copy of the register of the persons to be transported. For the services the court shall make the clerk a reasonable allowance, to be certified and paid on the order of the Governor, out of the money after it shall have been received in the treasury. The sheriff or other collector shall have the same power and authority to enforce the payment of the said levy, be allowed the same commissions for the collections and payment into the treasury, at the time of paying the revenue, and be under the same responsibilities, fines and penalties, by motion or otherwise, which now are or hereafter may be, provided by law in relation to the collection and payment of the public revenue.

3d. The auditor of public accounts, and the treasurer shall open separate books and accounts for the transportation fund. They shall charge this fund with all sums of money paid for the purpose of being applied under the provisions of this act, whether the same shall have been raised by levy as aforesaid or by donation, and it shall be credited by all sums disbursed under the orders of the Governor. There shall be separate accounts opened between each county and corporation and the fund, so as to exhibit at all times the exact amount of money received to the credit of each county and corporation, and also the amount disbursed for the transportation of free negroes and mulattoes therefrom. The treasurer shall receive all monies which shall be paid into the said fund, and account for, and pay the same in the warrants of the auditor of public accounts. The whole fund shall be under the direction and control of the Governor, for the benefit of the emigrants, and in the administration thereof he shall apply the money paid in from each county and corporation as nearly as practicable for the removal and temporary support of the emigrants from them respectively, in such manner as in his opinion will be best calculated to effect the objects in view.

4th. The Governor shall have full power and authority to appoint as many agents, to be compensated out of the transportation fund, as shall be proper for the purpose of collecting the emigrants, chartering vessels and doing and performing all things necessary in relation to the removal of the persons aforesaid, to such place or places beyond the limits of the United States, as he shall designate, and for their subsequent support for such reasonable time thereafter as he may think proper. The Governor by himself, and his agents, shall have full power and authority to make, and by all legal ways and means to enforce all contracts necessary and proper to effect the transportation and support of the persons aforesaid, and in so doing to use or pledge the transportation fund as to him may seem proper.

5th. The Governor shall, as far as practicable, cause to be removed all persons who shall have applied to the courts and been provided for by levy; but should the levy of any county or corporation be insufficient for the removal and temporary support of the number of persons admitted by the court, the Governor or some agent shall determine who among the applicants shall be removed; and if from any cause persons provided for shall not be removed, the court shall admit and order the removal of an equal number of other free negroes and mulattoes.

6th. It shall be the duty of the Governor of this Commonwealth, as soon as practicable, to open a correspondence with the President of the United States to ascertain from the latter all the information he may be pleased to communicate in relation to the state and condition of the inhabitants of the Western Coast and interior of Africa, the quality and products of the soil, the general character of the country, and its adaptation to improvements and the art of civilization, the situation and magnitude of its *Capes, Bays and Rivers*, and the character of the climate, and such other information as in his opinion may be calculated to show the practicability and propriety of colonizing free negroes and mulattoes, and to ascertain what part of the country, if any, may be occupied for that purpose, consistent with the relations between the United States and foreign nations, States and Powers, and if no part sustained for that purpose can now be occupied, consistent with the present relations be-

tween the United States and foreign Nations, States and Powers, whether any, and if any, what part may be procured for that purpose, and the time, manner and terms thereof; which correspondence and information, when procured, the Governor shall lay before the General Assembly."

And on the question being put thereupon, it was disagreed to by the Senate—Ayes 15, noes 16.

Extract from the Journal of the Senate, March 10th, 1832.

CHAPTER VIII.

Causes and results of the abolition debate in the General Assembly of Virginia in the session of 1831–32*; its effect upon public opinion and upon the cause of African Colonization in Virginia. Letters of Jefferson, Madison and Marshall. Views of B. Watkins Leigh and Professor Dew, &c.*

We have now reached a stand-point whence we can look calmly around us, and form a just estimate of the causes and effects of the debate upon the gradual abolition of slavery in Virginia. We repeat that in our opinion, we should not judge the past by the lights of the present generation. That was the culminating point—the flood tide of anti-slavery feeling which had been gradually rising for more than a century in Virginia and was then precipitated upon us before its time by the South-Hampton convulsion.

Great Britain was engaged in the slave trade before the Colony of Virginia was planted. Queen Elizabeth, Charles I. and II, James II. and William III. all encouraged it.

Virginia was among the foremost in warring against it. Judge H. St. George Tucker of Williamsburg, in his notes on Blackstone's Commentaries, has collected twenty-three acts of Assembly imposing duties on the importation of slaves from 1669 to 1772. In the latter year most of these acts were re-enacted and the Assembly presented a petition to the throne earnestly imploring the "paternal assistance" of his Britannic majesty to avert from the Colony the "great calamity" arising from the importation of slaves, "a trade of great inhumanity," and a "pernicious commerce." The prayer did not avail.

In the first draft of the Declaration of Independence Mr. Jefferson incorporated the following clause in his enumeration of wrongs done us by the King of Great Britain. It was stricken out in defference to the Delegates from South Carolina. "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or incurring a miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare—the opprobium of infidel powers—is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing any Legislative attempt to prohibit and restrain this execrable commerce, and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms against us, to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberty of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

Mr. Madison says this clause was stricken out in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia who wished for a time to continue the trade—"Our Northern Brethren too (he adds,) I believe felt a little tender under those censures, for though their people had but few slaves, yet they had been pretty *considerable carriers of them to others!*

George Mason of Virginia said in the federal congress. "This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British Merchants." Mr. Madison in the same debate objected to postponing the prohibition of the trade to the year 1808, saying "so long a term will be more dishonorable to the American character than to say nothing about it." The vote on this proposition was, ayes—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia. Noes—*Virginia*, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The History of the country shows that

Virginia representatives took the lead in carrying those measures in 1808, and again in 1819, &c., which led to the extinction of the slave trade, which was prohibited by the United States thirty years before it was by Great Britain. Virginia therefore, in the language of Professor Dew, has nothing to reproach herself with. She truly stands upon this subject like the Chevalier Bayard *sans peur et sans reproche.*

From the year 1776 to 1832 the prevalent sentiment was that slavery was not entailed on the State forever. During this period none of her economists, with the single exception perhaps of Mr. Giles, has defended the abstract right of slavery. The opinions of Washington, Mason, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Randolph, and indeed of all our leading statesmen of this era are well known, and had been frequently expressed.

As late as 1824 Mr. Jefferson in a letter to Jared Sparks fully exposed his views of emancipation—the mature result, he said, of his reflections for forty-five years upon the subject.

TO JARED SPARKS.

Monticello, Feb. 4, 1824.

Dear Sir,

I duly received your favour of the 13th, and with it, the last number of the North American Review. This has anticipated the one I should receive in course, but have not yet received, under my subscription to the new series. The article on the African colonization of the people of color, to which you invite my attention, I have read with great consideration. It is indeed a fine one, and will do much good. I learn from it more, too, than I had before known, of the degree of success and promise of that colony.

In the disposition of these unfortunate people, there are two rational objects to be distinctly kept in view. 1. The establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa, which may introduce among the aborigines the arts of cultivated life, and the blessings of civilization and science. By doing this, we may make to them some retribution for the long course of injuries we have been committing on their population. And considering that these blessings will descend to the '*nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis,*' we shall in the long run have rendered them perhaps more good than evil. To fulfil this object, the colony of Sierra Leone promises well, and that of Mesurado adds to our prospect of success. Under this view, the Colonization Society is to be considered as a missionary society, having in view, however, objects more humane, more justifiable, and less aggressive on the peace of other nations, than the others of that appellation.

The second object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population from among us, and establish them under our patronage and protection, as a separate free and independent people, in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness. That any place on the coast of Africa should answer the latter purpose, I have ever deemed entirely impossible. And without repeating the other arguments which have been urged by others, I will appeal to figures only, which admit no controversy. I shall speak in round numbers, not absolutely accurate, yet not so wide from truth as to vary the result materially. There are in the United States a million and a half of people of colour in slavery. To send off the whole of these at once, nobody conceives to be practicable for us, or expedient for them. Let us take twenty-five years for its accomplishment, within which time they shall be doubled. Their estimated value as property in the first place, (for actual property has been lawfully vested in that form, and who can lawfully take it from the possessors?) at an average of two hundred dollars each, young and old, would amount to six hundred millions of dollars, which must be paid or lost by somebody. To this, add the cost of their transportation by land and sea to Mesurado, a year's provision of food and clothing, implements of husbandry and of their trades, which will amount to three hundred millions more, making thirty-six millions of dollars a year for twenty-five years, with insurance of peace all that time, and it is im-

possible to look at the question a second time. I am aware that at the end of about sixteen years, a gradual detraction from this sum will commence, from the gradual diminution of breeders, and go on during the remaining nine years. Calculate this deduction, and it is still impossible to look at the enterprise a second time. I do not say this to induce an inference that the getting rid of them is forever impossible. For that is neither my opinion nor my hope. But only that it cannot be done in this way. There is, I think, a way in which it can be done; that is, by emancipating the after born, leaving them, on due compensation, with their mothers, until their services are worth their maintenance, and then putting them to industrious occupations, until a proper age for deportation. This was the result of my reflections on the subject five and forty years ago, and I have never yet been able to conceive any other practicable plan. It was sketched in Notes on Virginia, under the fourteenth query. The estimated value of the new-born infant is so low, (say twelve dollars and fifty-cents) that it would probably be yielded by the owner gratis, and would thus reduce the six hundred millions of dollars, the first head of expense, to thirty-seven millions and a half: leaving only the expenses of nourishment while with the mother, and of transportation. And from what fund are these expenses to be furished? Why not from that of the lands which have been ceded by the very states now needing this relief? And ceded on no consideration, for the most part, but that of the general good of the whole. These cessions already constitute one fourth of the states of the union. It may be said that these lands have been sold; are now the property of the citizens composing those states; and the money long ago received and expended. But an equivalent of lands in the territories since acquired, may be appropriated to that object, or so much at least as may be sufficient; and the object, although more important to the slave states, is highly so to the others also, if they were serious in their arguments on the Missouri question. The slave states, too, if more interested, would also contribute more by their gratuitous liberation, thus taking on themselves alone the first and heaviest item of expense.

In the plan sketched in the Notes on Virginia, no particular place of asylum was specified; because it was thought possible, that in the revolutionary state of America, then commenced, events might open to us some one within practicbale distance. This has now happened. St. Domingo has become independent, and with a population of that color only; and if the public papers are to be credited, their Chief offers to pay their passage, to receive them as free citizens, and to provide them employment.

This leaves, then for the general confederacy, no expense but of nurture with the mother a few years, and would call, of course, for a very moderate appropriation of the vacant lands. Suppose the whole annual increase to be of sixty thousand effective births, fifty vessels, of four hundred tons burthen each, constantly employed in that short run, would carry off the increase of every year, and the old stock would die off in the ordinary course of nature, lessening from the commencement until its final disappearance. In this way no violation of private right is proposed. Voluntary surrenders would probably come in as fast as the means to be provided for their care would be competent to it. Looking at my own state only, and I presume not to speak for the others, I verily believe that this surrendor of property would not amount to more, annually, than half of our present direct taxes, to be continued fully about twenty or twenty-five years, and then gradually diminishing for as many more until their final extinction; and even this half tax would not be paid in cash, but by the delivery of an object which they had never yet known or counted as part of their property: and those not possessing the object will be called on for nothing. I do not go into all the details of the burthens and benefits of this operation. And who could estimate its blessed effects? I leave this to those who will live to see their accomplishment, and to enjoy a beatitude forbidden to my age. But I leave it with this admonition, to rise and be doing. A million and a half are within

their control; but six millions (which a majority of those now living will see them attain,) and one million of these fighting men, will say, 'we will not go.'

I am aware that this subject involves some constitutional scruples. But a liberal construction, justified by the object, may go far, and an amendment of the constitution, the whole length necessary. The separations of infants from their mothers, too, would produce some scruples of humanity. But this would be straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel.

I am much pleased to see that you have taken up the subject of the duty on imported books. I hope a crusade will be kept up against it, until those in power shall become sensible of this stain on our legislation and shall wipe it from their code, and from the remembrance of man, if possible;

I salute you with assurances of high respect and esteem.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

In December 1831, just before the debate in the General Assembly Chief Justice Marshall and ex-president Madison published their views upon the questions then agitating the public mind in the form of letters to the Rev. R. Randolph Gurley.

MONTPELIER, *December* 29, 1831.

Dear sir: I received, in due time, your letter of the 21st ult. and with due sensibility to the subject of it. Such, however, has been the effect of a painful rheumatism on my general condition, as well as in disqualifying my fingers for the use of the pen, that I could not do justice "to the principles and measures of the Colonization Society in all the great and various relations they sustain to our own country and to Africa," if my views of them could have the value which your partiality supposes. I may observe, in brief, that the Society had always my good wishes, though with hopes of its success less sanguine than were entertained by others found to have been the better judges; and that I feel the greatest pleasure at the progress already made by the Society, and the encouragement to encounter remaining difficulties afforded by the earlier and greater ones already overcome. Many circumstances at the present moment seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society and cherishing the hope that the time will come, when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed and by means consistent with justice, peace and the general satisfaction: thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example. I never considered the main difficulty of the great work as lying in the deficiency of emancipations, but in an inadequacy of asylums for such a growing mass of population, and in the great expense of removing it to its new home. The spirit of private manumission as the laws may permit and the exiles may consent, is increasing and will increase; and there are sufficient indications that the public authorities in slave-holding States are looking forward to interpositions in different forms that must have a powerful effect. With respect to the new abode for the emigrants, all agree that the choice made by the Society is rendered peculiarly appropriate by considerations which need not be repeated, and if other situations should not be found eligible receptacles for a portion of them, the prospects in Africa seem to be expanding in a highly encouraging degree.

In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the Nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in queston is truly of a national character, and it is known that distinguished patriots not dwelling in slave-holding States have viewed the object in that light and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it.

Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the coloured population, they are not equally so; it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefitted, are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of.

I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the gene-

ral will be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the colored population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority could be carried, with little delay, through the forms of the Constitution.

Sincerely wishing an increasing success to the labors of the Society, I pray you to be assured of my esteem, and to accept my friendly salutations.

JAMES MADISON.

RICHMOND, *Dec.* 14, 1831.

Dear Sir: I received your letter of the 7th, in the course of the mail, but it was not accompanied by the documents you mention.

I undoubtedly feel a deep interest in the success of the Society, but, if I had not long since formed a resolution against appearing in print on any occasion, I should now be unable to comply with your request. In addition to various occupations which press on me very seriously, the present state of my family is such as to prevent my attempting to prepare any thing for publication.

The great object of the Society, I presume, is to obtain pecuniary aids. Application will undoubtedly be made, I hope successfully, to the several State Legislatures by the societies formed within them respectively. It is extremely desirable that they should pass permanent laws on the subject, and the excitement produced by the late insurrection makes this a favorable moment for the friends of the Colony to press for such acts. It would be also desirable, if such a direction could be given to State Legislation as might have some tendency to incline the people of color to migrate. This, however, is a subject of much delicacy. Whatever may be the success of our endeavors to obtain acts for permanent aids, I have no doubt that our applications for immediate contributions will receive attention. It is possible, though not probable, that more people of color may be disposed to migrate than can be provided for with the funds the Society may be enabled to command. Under this impression I suggested, some years past, to one or two of the Board of Managers, to allow a small additional bounty in lands to those who would pay their own passage in whole or in part. The suggestion, however, was not approved.

It is undoubtedly of great importance to retain the countenance and protection of the General Government. Some of our cruizers stationed on the coast of Africa would, at the same time, interrupt the slave trade—a horrid traffic detested by all good men, and would protect the vessels and commerce of the Colony from pirates who infest those seas. The power of the government to afford this aid is not, I believe, contested. I regret that its power to grant pecuniary aid is not equally free from question. On this subject, I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable, and the most effective that can be devised.

The fund would probably operate as rapidly as would be desirable, when we take into view the other resources which might come in aid of it, and its application would be, perhaps, less exposed to those constitutional objections which are made in the South than the application of money drawn from the Treasury and raised by taxes. The lands are the property of the United States, and have heretofore been disposed of by the government under the idea of absolute ownership. The cessions of the several States convey them to the General Government for the common benefit without prescribing any limits to the judgment of Congress, or any rule by which that judgment shall be exercised. The cession of Virginia indeed seems to look to an apportionment of the fund among the States, "according to their several respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure." But this cession was made at a time when the lands were believed to be the only available fund for paying the debts of the United States and supporting their Government. This condition has probably been supposed to be controled by the existing constitution, which gives Congress "power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories or the property belonging to the U. States. It is certain that the donations made for roads and colleges are not in proportion to the part borne by each State of the general expenditure. The removal of our colored population is, I think, a common object, by no means confined to the slave

States, although they are more immediately interested in it. The whole Union would be strengthened by it, and relieved from a danger, whose extent can scarcely be estimated. It lessens very much in my estimation, the objection in a political view to the application of this ample fund, that our lands are becoming an object for which the States are to scramble, and which threatens to sow the seeds of discord among us instead of being what they might be—a source of national wealth.

I am, dear sir,
With great and respectful esteem,
Your obedient servant,
J. MARSHALL.

We have recited the foregoing facts and re-produced the letters of Jefferson, Madison and Marshall to show what had been the prevailing tone of public sentiment in Virginia—from 1776 to 1832 upon this vexed question of slavery. Mr. Jefferson it will be observed distinguishes between the Colonization of free negroes and the emancipation of slaves He was in favor of colonizing the free negroes in Africa, as "the greatest of missionary schemes." But he was also an emancipationist, looking to the ultimate extinction of Slavery in Virginia. He did not however regard it as a practical thing to colonize our entire black population in so distant a land as Africa. His plan was to send the free negroes to Africa and the slaves to the West Indies. Mr. Jefferson should not be confounded with *modern* Abolitionists. They insist upon *immediate* abolition, he was in favor of *gradual* emancipation. They deny the right of property in slaves—he distinctly recognized it and would compensate masters for the loss of it. They will not have emancipation with deportation, he would not emancipate *without* deportation. Ex-president Madison and the Chief Justice, were like Mr. Jefferson, colonizationists. The former was President of the American and the latter of the Virginian Society when the foregoing letters were written. These letters however were not official expositions of the views of the Societies, but mere expressions of their private opinions upon the topics then agitating the public mind in Virginia. Like all the Virginia Statesmen of the Revolutionary era, they thought slavery an evil whose gradual and ultimate extinction was a consummation devoutly to be wished. They did not think the Colonization Society, competent to effect such a result even if that had been a legitimate object of its labours. They looked to the aid of the federal government, and it was a remarkable coincidence that without concert their minds had been revolving with favor the plan submitted by Rufus King to the Senate of the United States on the 15th of February 1825. This plan proposed that after the existing debt of the United States (for the payment of which the public lands had been pledged) had been paid off the whole of the public land of the United States with the nett proceeds of all future sales thereof should constitute a fund to aid the emancipation and removal of such slaves and free negroes as by the laws of the States respectively might be allowed to be emancipated or removed beyond the limits of the United States. Mr. Madison said that he was aware of the constitutional objections that might be urged to such a measure, but that if the people were in favor of it, an amendment of the constitution might be easily carried through all the forms of law.

In view of these and other facts in our history it is not surprising that a debate upon the subject of emancipation should have sprung up in our Legislature. Under ordinary circumstances it might have been postponed for many years. It was not exactly a natural and normal development. It was precipitated by the "affair of Southampton. Under the stimulating influence of that event, petitions were sent from several counties asking the intervention of the Legislature in the disturbing question of slavery and the newspaper Press with much unanimity and spirit echoed the voice of the Petitioners.

It is not easy at this distance of time to tell whether the Press and the petitioners reflected the general sentiment. In the columns of the newspapers we find reports of meetings in some counties in favor of emancipation and of "indignation meetings," in other counties complaining of the newspapers and protesting against the agitation of the subject. Among the men of note who entered the lists against the emancipationists

was B. Watkins Leigh who wrote a series of articles in the Richmond Enquirer under the signature of "Appomattox." These articles in vigor of thought, in elegance of diction, and in pungency of satire, make the nearest approximation to "Junius," of any thing in Virginia literature. Mr. Leigh, though a man of strong prejudices was the very soul of honor and took a special pride in being accurate in his facts. He was a close observer of the debate and he expresses the opinion that the Editors, Politicians and Petitioners were a long way ahead of public sentiment. According to his statement, these petitions might be distributed into the following classes and numbers.

1st. Petitions, from eleven hundred and eighty-eight citizens in twelve counties, praying that some provision should be made by law for the removal of the free negroes from the State. The views of these persons Mr. Leigh said were obviously hostile to all schemes of emancipation whatsoever, and their petition did not seem to attract any serious attention. 2nd. Petitions were presented from three hundred and seventy-eight citizens praying that an effort should be made to procure an amendment of the Constitution authorizing the Federal Government to assist in ridding us of the black population.

3rd. Two County Colonization Societies and three hundred and sixty-six citizens of four counties sent memorials and petitions, suggesting, (I state their general objects as I understand it,) measures first for the removal of the free negroes and then of slaves hereafter to be emancipated by their owners or purchased by the public at a fair price, with a view to Colonization.

A Petition from sixty-one citizens of Warwick, the prayer of which I interpret to mean that "something may be done."

Petitions from Buckingham and Loudoun signed by twenty-seven men. A petition from Augusta signed by three hundred and forty-three women.

A memorial of a meeting in Albermarle and one from a Society of friends in Hanover praying for abolition of slavery, some upon Mr. Randolph's plan and some in general terms.

Such is Mr. Leigh's analysis of the number and character of the petitioners to the General Assembly. He is accordingly very severe upon the Orators and the Editors whom he charges with reflecting the opinions of a very small fragment of the masses of people in Virginia.

Several writers in the newspapers and particularly a member of the Assembly under the signature of Jefferson questions the accuracy of his statements. But as no specific mistatement is pointed out, it was probably a very near approximation to the truth. And yet there can be but little doubt that there was quite a favorable disposition in the public mind towards some plan of emancipation if any *practicable plan* could have been devised. It will be observed that Mr. Leigh distinguishes between the petitioners for emancipation and deportation with due regard to all the rights of property and petitioners for abolition without any recognition of those rights. He classes the Colonizationists amongst the former. Indeed it is a noticeable fact that there seem to have been but two of some thirty or forty County Colonization Societies who are included among the petitioners at all, and they are represented as respecting the rights of property and all their constitutional obligations. The *Colonization Society of Virginia* seems to have pursued a very prudent and conservative course for in the very heat of the debate it assembled in general meeting in the Capitol and passed the following resolution which shows that it had not been carried away by the tide of popular excitement. The following is an extract from the minutes, viz. "The annual meeting of the Colonization Society of Virginia, was held in the Capitol on the 11th. of January 1832. General William H. Brodnax in the chair.

On motion it was resolved that the Society deems it expedient at this time to renew its pledges to the public strictly to adhere to that *original feature in its constitution which confines its operations to the removal of the free people of color only*, with their own consent.

At the same time the Society appointed Delegates to a meeting of the American Colonization Society to meet in Washington in a few days.

Among these Delegates were Chief Justice Marshall, Hon. John Tyler, Andrew

Stephenson, T. Walker Gilmer and Hon. William. S. Archer.

These Delegates attended the meeting at Washington. William S. Archer made a speech in the course of which he said the object of this Society involves no intrusion on the rights of property nor even upon prejudice. It sought the removal to a better state of a people who had ceased to be property, &c. From an anomalous condition of anathema, this excellent association is laboring to remove the free blacks to plenty industry and independence and these countless retinue of blessings. He maintained that this Society was a blessing to the slave and the slave-holder. Although the condition of the slave is better than that of the free black, yet the latter is a perpetual incitement to discontent to the former. When the slave steals it is from sympathy with the destitution of the free black or to trade with him.

The removal of the free black would benefit him, benefit the master and benefit the slave.

Mr. Archer said that he was not one of those who (however desirable it was in abstract speculation) looked to the complete removal of slavery from among us. If that (consummation devoutly to be wished,) was feasible at all, it was at a period too remote to warrant the expenditure of contemplation and contribution now.

"But a great benefit, short of this, was within reach, and made part of the scope of operation, of the plan of the Society. The progress of slavery was subjected to the action of a law, of the utmost regularity of action. Where this progress was neither stayed, nor modified by causes of collateral operation, it hastened with a frightful rapidity, disproportioned, entirely, to the ordinary law of the advancement of population, to its catastrophe, which was repletion. If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate, and production, inevitably and speedily redundant, first to the occasions of profitable employment, and as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners, fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners in this country) it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. When the stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? Or general emancipation, and incorporation, as in South America? Or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided, and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment.* This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand To this end, aid was looked for, from the Government of the United States. This would require, Mr. Archer thought, an amendment to the Constitution to authorize it, a resource of precarious reliance. But the resources of the States within which the evil was found, were entirely adequate to the object. The Legislatures of thirteen States, had committed themselves in approval of the scheme of the Society. To these we were authorized to address ourselves. That was the object of the resolution he had to submit. The Society had done all that private association could be expected, all that it could be *bound* to do, in leading the way, and demonstrating the feasibility (in this case the easy feasibility) of the object. The residue must be done, the outline be filled up, by public capacity. The Society had fulfilled, *consummated*, its proper and only requirable office—had filled the measure of its duty and reputation. It remained, now, for the State Legislatures to take up their part of the function, and to redeem the pledge which so many of them had given. To these he had now to propose we should address ourselves, it could not be, he hoped, without effect.

"Mr. A. had been stating the case in the supposition, that after the present class of free blacks had been exhausted, by the operation of the plan he was recommending, others would be supplied for its action, in the proportion of the excess of coloured population it would be necessary to throw off, by the process of voluntary manumission or sale. This effect must result inevitably from the depreciating value of the slaves ensuing their disproportionate multiplication. The depreciation would be relieved and retarded at the same time, by the process. The two operations would aid reciprocally, and sustain each other, and both be in the highest degree beneficial. It was on the ground of interest, therefore, the most indisputable pecuniary interest, that he addressed himself to the people and Legislatures of the slave-holding States. The great principles of philanthropy involved, was indeed to them as to the other quarters and Legislatures of the Union—a powerful re-inforcing consideration. But he put the case directly, to the clear sense of interest, of this portion sustaining directly the pressure of the evil. His (Mr. A's) plan was disembarrassment by each State, of the portion of the evil which belonged to it, first, as it existed, afterwards as it accrued, by the exertion of the proper resources of the State, which he maintained, would be adequate, if the commencement of the process were no longer delayed. The longer this was delayed, not only did the mass to be wrought on, become more ponderous by augmentation, but the resources of operation more waning, from declining productiveness of the property. This then was the time to invoke the commencement of state action. There was another reason. Large and overwhelming evils induce inertness and torpor in the public mind, which it demands some signal incident or catastrophe to awaken, and direct to salutary action. This has been the case in an especial manner, with the portentous evil in question. A recent and most tragical catastrophe, of which his own State had been the scene, had now put the public mind wide awake, to the interest of this great subject, in every quarter. The moment ought not surely to be lost. Men could now say as they were wont, of the extremest peril and crisis of this evil, they will not come in our day.

"It was demonstrated by proof of frightful validity that the peril impended, that the crisis might come on any day. No! he was wrong! It was not in the day that his form of horrors ever disclosed itself. It came in the night—disclosed itself in the midnight glare of habitations in which every form of outrage and butchery had previously been wreaked, on every form of life and helplessness, even to the sleep of the cradle. To avert the remotest prospect of evil of this character, what exertion ought to be omitted? What sacrifice or expenditure declined? None that gave even faint promise of aid! In this view, invoking on all exertions in the cause, the blessing which must rest on their motives, he proposed the resolution which had been sent to the Chair."

Although the agitation of this delicate subject was a perilous experiment, whose immediate effect was painful, yet we do not now deprecate it because it seems to us to have been one of those critical processes through which the Body-Politic must occasionally pass in its restoration from a morbid to a healthy condition. It had been a common sentiment in Virginia from the foundation of the government, that Slavery was a "moral, political, and social evil." The minds of our leading men, without distinction of party in Politics or Religion, had been anxiously revolving schemes for its ultimate extinction. If Southern men had been left alone with this subject, no human sagacity can now tell to what conclusions they would have come in process of time.

Under these circumstances Northern fanatics began to throw fire-brands amongst us. These lighted the flames of insurrection, and the "panic" which ensued was felt by the House of Delegates, which in the language of the Richmond Inquirer, "broke the seals which for fifty years had imposed silence upon the most delicate subject of State concernment." Statesmen in the halls of Legislation, Politicians in the columns of Newspapers and Philosophers in the academies of Science entered the lists, and the press teemed with orations, editorials and

essays of all sizes from the fugitive sheet to the ponderous pamphlet.

The Richmond Whig said that the debate in the House of Delegates was marked by an eloquence that would have illustrated the classic days of Athens. The columns of the Inquirer and of the Whig and other newspapers were illuminated with brilliant editorials and communications. Professor Dew from his retirement at William and Mary sent forth a pamphlet in justification of Slavery marked by uncommon powers of reasoning and great wealth of illustration. The gifted Jesse B. Harrison of Lynchburg responded, in the "American Quarterly," with great eloquence of diction and in the most calm and philosophical spirit of Inquiry.

This "spirit of Inquiry" was every where abroad busily inspecting the foundations of Southern Society, and the result was a general conviction that our peculiar institution was a "Political, Social and Moral Necessity."

We do not think that any impartial person can read these discussions, (now when the heat and smoke of the contest has given way to a serene atmosphere,) without seeing that the Pro-Slavery advocates had the best of the argument. The Emancipationists utterly failed to bring forward any national and practicable scheme of Abolition.

The result was a powerful reaction in the public mind, which involved in some degree of the odium attached to Abolition every scheme touching the colored race, however innocent it may have been. Consequently the bill for colonizing the free negroes which passed the House of Delegates by a decisive vote, was lost by a few voices in the Senate.

The only practical effect of all this excitement to be seen in the legislation of the session was a bill for the suppression of seditious writings and curtailing the privileges of the colored population bond and free.

Let the misguided Abolitionists hear that, and learn a lesson of humility and practical wisdom and humanity from the experiment.

CHAPTER IX.

Reaction in public sentiment—Essay on Slavery by Professor Dew—Article in American Quarterly by Jesse B. Harrison.

The effect of the general discussion elicited by the debate upon Abolition in the General Assembly, was a powerful reaction in public opinion upon the subject of slavery. The anti-slavery tide was arrested at its flood, and began rapidly to ebb. The document which chiefly contributed to this result was an Essay upon Slavery, by Professor Dew of William and Mary College, in which the whole subject was treated with profound ability, and illustrated with great wealth of learning. In this essay the folly of a general emancipation without deportation and the impracticability of deporting so large a population were clearly demonstrated.

Soon after the publication of Professor Dews pamphlet, an article of signal ability appeared in the American Quarterly Review based on the speech of Thomas Marshall of Fauquier, designed to shew that slavery was the essential hindrance to the prosperity of the slave-holders, with particular reference to Virginia. This article was written by Jesse Burton Harrison of Lynchburg. It was reprinted in the form of a pamphlet and generally circulated in Virginia. The verdict of the people after deliberately looking at both sides of the question as exhibited by these eloquent advocates, was decidedly in favor of the general principles maintained by President Dew. This reaction in public sentiment involved at first the cause of Colonization. The reason of this was that some of the over-sanguine Colonizationists had put forward the Colonization Society as competent to effect in time the deportation of the entire black population. Colonization and Abolition had been thus confounded in the public mind It *was against this aspect of Colonization*, that Professor Dew levelled his tremendous batteries. As Professor Dew interpreted the design of the Colonization Society, his argument was unanswerable and fatal. But in truth the picture of the society which he had in view being painted by over-ardent Colonizationists, was a mere caricature. The Society declares in its funda-

mental law that its *exclusive design* is to remove from the United States, such *free negroes as will consent to go.* When a master acting spontaneously liberates a slave, he is then a free negro and within the sphere of our operations. Any views transcending these limits are private opinions and should never have been incorporated into any official documents of the society.

If all the Colonization Societies and their friends had kept this law, the cause would have escaped the mountains of prejudice which at times have well nigh crushed it.

When the smoke of the fierce conflict of opinion passed away, and mens minds subsided into their wonted repose, the Colonization Society of Virginia was seen under its true colors and its real purposes rightly appreciated. Accordingly it again approached the General Assembly with a respectful memorial which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

On the 9th of February 1833, the Committee on Finance in the House of Delegates made a Report concluding with the follow- resolution:

Resolved as the opinion of this Committee, That the several petitions, to wit: of the auxiliary Colonization Society of Buckingham, soliciting an appropriation of money to aid the American Colonization Society in removing free persons of color, and such slaves as may be voluntarily emancipated, from this State to Liberia; of the American Society, for colonizing the free people of color of the United States in Africa or elsewhere, setting forth its objects, progress, and complaining of the want of funds, to remove many applicants residing in this State, and mooting the consideration of the General Assembly; of sundry citizens of Norfolk county, asking an appropriation of a liberal sum, annually, in aid of the transportation of the free people of color of Virginia to the land of their ancestors; four petitions of sundry inhabitants of Fauquier, asking that an act may pass, providing in whatsoever manner the General Assembly may prescribe, the annual appropriation of such sum in aid of colonizing the free people of color of this Commonwealth, as will comport with the magnitude of the subject and the resources of the State; of sundry citizens of the Borough of Norfolk, praying a liberal annual appropriation from the Treasury, in aid of the Society for colonizing free persons of Color in Africa, be rejected.

The fifth resolution being under consideration, a motion was made by Mr. Gilmer to amend the same by striking therefrom the words, "be rejected," and inserting in lieu thereof the words, "is reasonable," whereupon a motion was made by Mr. Lewis that the farther consideration of the said resolution and proposed amendment, be indefinite postponed; and the question being put thereupon, was determined in the negative. Ayes 57, noes 57.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 27th, 1833.

Extract from proceedings of H. of Delegates.

An engrossed bill making appropriations for the removal of free persons of color, was read a third time, whereupon a motion was made by Mr. Sims, that the further consideration of said bill be indefinitely postponed, and the question being put thereupon, was determined in the negative. Ayes 41, noes 65.

A blank therein was then filled; and the question being put upon its passage, was determined in the affirmative. Ayes 72, noes 48.

On motion of Mr. Goode, (seven of the members present concurring,) ordered, that the Ayes and noes upon the said question be inserted in the journal. The names of the gentlemen who voted in the affirmative are: Messrs. Riley, Colburn, Gilmer, Randolph, Garland, Stuart of Augusta, McCue, Magne, Preston, Faulkner, Henshaw, Miller, Wilson of Botetourt, Campbell, Gholson, McComas, Dickerson, Pendleton, Thornton, Broadnax, Jones, Daniel, Marshall, Payne, Barton, Early, Smith of Gloucester, Watkins of Goochland, Alderson, Stewart of Greensville, Vance, Roane of Hanover, Mullen, Goff, Kincheloe, Mayo, Holleman, Gregory, Gallaher, Berry, Fry, Hooe, Carter of Richmond and Lancaster, Heiskell, Hays, Beard, Harrison, Taylor, Poindexter, Roy, Alexander, Charlton, Webb, Cabell, Collins, Dunton, Harvey, Parriott, Leffler, Robertson, Hines, Nash, Brown of Preston, McDowell, Moore,

McMullen, Griffin, Crump, McCoy, Sturman, Mybery and Rutherfoord—72.

And the names of the gentlemen who voted in the negative are, Messrs. Banks, (Speaker,) Booker, Shell, Patteson of Buckingham, Yancey, Dearing, Cheatham, Richardson, Patteson of Chesterfield, Wilson of Cumberland, Ritchie, Stephenson of Fayette and Nicholas, Helms, Hale, Woods, Bruce, Sims, Sloane, Gravely, Harwood, Dabney, Street, Shands, Boothe, McMahon, Cline, Macfarlane, Bare, Newman, Thompson, Stevenson of Spotsylvania, Conway, Pegram, George, McCulloh, Stanger, and Brown of Petersburg—48.

On motion of Mr. Gholson, (a member voting in the majority,) the fifth rule of this house was suspended, for the purpose of reconsidering the vote just passing the said bill; and the question being put thereupon, was determined in the affirmative.

The said vote was then reconsidered; and Mr. Brown of Petersburg offered a clause by way of a ryder to the said bill, which was read the first and second times.

The same is as follows: "Provided that no payment shall be made by the said board, under the provisions of this act, for the transportation of any other than persons of color, who are now free and born, and residing within this Commonwealth, or their descendants."

And the question being put upon engrossing the same and reading it the third time, was determined in the affirmative—Ayes 87, noes 35.

On motion of Mr. Goode, (seven of the members present concurring,) ordered, that the ayes and noes upon the said question be inserted in the journal.

The names of the gentlemen who voted in the affirmative, are Messrs. Banks (Speaker,) Riley, Coleburn, Booker, Stuart of Augusta, Miller, Cholson, Shell, Patterson of Chesterfield, Pendleton, Thornton, Wilson of Cumberland, Broadnax, Jones, Butcher, Payne, Hale, Woods, Smith of Frederick, Earle, Emmons, Smith of Gloucester, Watkins of Goochland, Stewart of Greensville, Bruce, Vines, Sloane, Roane of Hanover, Mallory, Goff, Kincheloe, Mayo, Gravely, Holleman, Gregory, Gallaher, Harwood, Hooe, Carter of Lancaster and Richmond, Poindexter, Street, Roy, Smith of Mason and Jackson, Goode, Willey, Alexander, Charlton, Webb, Cabell, Murdaugh, Collins, Dunton, Harvey, Liffler, Dale, Adams, Hiner, Witcher, Swanson, Nash, Watkins of Prince Edward, Shands, Boothe, McMahon, Cline, McMullen, Bare, Newman, Thompson, Griffin, Stephenson of Spotsylvania, Conway, Crump, Pegram, McCoy, Sturman, Maybery, Slanger, King, Brown of Petersburg and Rutherfoord—87.

And the names of the gentlemen who voted in the negative are Messrs. Gilmer, Randolph, Garland, McCue, Mayse, Preston, Faulkner, Henshaw, Wilson of Botetourt, Campbell, McComas, Daniel, Marshall, Stephenson of Fayette and Nicholas, Helms, Alderson, Vance, Berry, Fry, Heiskell, Hays, Beard, Harrison, Taylor, Henry, Sherrard, Parriott, Robertson, Cachley, Brown of Preston, McDowell, Moore, Macfarlane, George and McCulloh—35.

The question was then put upon passing the said bill, with the ryder, and was determined in the affirmative—Ayes 68, noes 51.

On motion of Mr. Broaddax, (seven of the member present concurring,) ordered that the ayes and noes upon the said question be inserted in the journal.

The names of the gentlemen who voted in the affirmative are, Messrs. Banks, (speaker,) Riley, Coleburn, Gilmer, Garland, McCue, Mayse, Preston, Faulkner, Henshaw, Miller, Wilson of Botetourt, Campbell, Gholson, Shell, Pendleton, Thornton, Broadnax, Jones, Marshall, Layne, Smith of Frederick, Earle, Smith of Gloucester, Watkins of Goochland, McCamant, Alderson, Stewart of Greensville, Roane of Hanover, Mullen, Goff, Kincheloe, Mayo, Holleman, Gregory, Gallaher, Berry, Fry, Hooe, Heiskell, Poindexter, Roy, Alexander, Charlton, Webb, Cabell, Murdaugh, Collins, Dunton, Harvey, Leffler, Dade, Robertson, Hiner, Nash, Moore, McMullen, Griffin, Stevenson of Spotsylvania, Conway, Crump, Pegram, McCoy Sturman, Maybery, King, Brown of Petersburg and Rutherfoord—67.

And the names of gentlemen who voted in

the negative are, Messrs. Randolph, Booker, Patteson of Buckingham. Yancey, Dearing, Cheatham, Richardson, Patteson of Chesterfield, Wilson of Cumberland, Daniel, Ritchie, Stephenson of Fayette and Nicholas, Helms, Hale, Woods, Emmons, Bruce, Sims, Vance, Sloane, Gravely, Harwood, Hays, Witcher, Swanson, Cackley, Brown of Preston, Beard, Harrison, Taylor, Street, Smith of Mason and Jackson, Goode, Henry, Willy, Sherrard, Parrott, Adams, Watkins of P. Edward, Shands, Boothe, McDowell, McMahon, Cline, Macfarlane, Bare, Newman, Thompson, George, McCulloh and Slanger, 51.

Resolved, That the bill do pass, and that the bill be an act making appropriations for the removal of free persons of colour.

AN ACT

Making appropriations for the removal of free persons of color.

(Passed March 4th, 1833.)

1. *Be it Enacted by the General Assembly*, That the sum of eighteen thousand dollars shall be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid annually, for the period of five years, out of any money in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated, for the purposes, and in the manner herein after prescribed.

2. *Be it further enacted*, That the governor, Lieutenant Governor, first and second Auditors, for the time being, shall be and they are hereby constituted a board of commissioners, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act, any two of whom shall be a quorum for said purpose.

3. Whenever satisfactory proof shall be produced to the said board of commissioners, that any number of free persons of color, shall have been actually transported to the colony of Liberia, or other place on the western coast of Africa, or that they shall have been embarked for transportation thither, from within the limits of this commonwealth, by the American Colonization Society, it shall be lawful, and the said board of commissioners are hereby required to issue their warrant on the treasury of this commonwealth, for such sum or sums of money, as may be necessary to defray the costs of transporting and subsisting such free persons of color for a limited time, on the said coast of Africa, payable to the authorized and accredited agent or agents of the said American Colonization Society: Provided, that the sum or sums which may, from time to time, be thus expended, shall, in no one year, exceed the amount hereby appropriated for such year, and that the free persons of color who may be removed, under the provisions of this act, shall be selected from the different counties and corporations of this commonwealth, in proportion to the amount of revenue paid into the public treasury by such county or corporation, if such free persons of color can be found in such county or corporation, willing to emigrate; but if the whole sum of money hereby appropriated to each county and corporation, shall not be annually applied to the removal of such free persons of color therein, because of their unwillingness to emigrate therefrom, then the balance thereof may be equitably applied, by the said board of commissioners, to the removal of free persons of color from other counties and corporations: And provided further, that not more than the sum of thirty dollars, shall be allowed by said board of commissioners for the transportation and subsistence as aforesaid, of any free persons of color, above the age of ten years, and not more than the sum of twenty dollars, for the transportation and subsistence of any free person of color under the said age of ten years. And the said board of commissioners are hereby required to keep an exact account of all moneys disbursed under the authority of this act, and to make an annual report thereof to the next General Assembly, showing the ages and sex of such free persons of color as may be transported from this commonwealth, and the counties, cities or boroughs from which they may have been respectively removed; together with such other facts and suggestions as they may deem interesting or proper: Provided, that no payment shall be made by the said board under the provisions of this act, for the transportation of any other than persons of color who are now free, and born and residing in this commonwealth, or their descendants.

4. This act shall be in force from and after the passage thereof.

The passage of this act revived the hopes of the friends of Colonization. The State Society appointed a committee consisting of R. G. Scott and others, to prepare and circulate an address with the view of stirring up the County Auxiliaries, and calling the attention of Ministers of the Gospel to the taking up collections on the 4th of July to relieve the embarrassments of the Society at Washington. The Rockbridge society celebrated its seventh anniversary on the 4th of July, and expressed its regret that the benefits of the appropriation should have been limited to negroes who were free at the time of the passage of the act. The Wheeling society expressed a like regret and suggested a modification of the Act of Assembly, so as to allow the appropriation to be applied to the removal of all free colored people without regard to the time of their emancipation. The Albemarle society said we are invited to lend our aid by the necessity of co-operating with our State Legislature in carrying out the purposes of this liberal appropriation of last session.

At the anniversary of the Bedford society, on the 21st of July, sixty members were reported with cheering prospects of a large accession. In the same month a new society was formed in Mecklenburg, after an address by A. W. Venable. Like movements were made in other counties, but we do not happen to have a minute of their proceedings.

All the indications now promised that Colonization would soon become the established policy of the State. The society had recovered from the shock of the events of 1831-32. Up to that time there had been a progression in the emigration from Virginia to Liberia, until the number of emigrants reached to 293 in one year. Under the influence of those events the number ran down to 59 in 1833 and to one in 1835. There having been a rise in 1834 by the liberation of 100 negroes by a gentleman of Virginia. The renewed impulse given to the cause in 1833, would probably soon have rolled the tide of emigration, had not the Abolitionists again disturbed the peace of the country by their insane ravings. The Richmond Whig commenting upon the wild scheme of immediate emancipation, and the renewed attempts of the Abolitionists to excite hostility against the Colonization Society, thus refers to the state of public sentiment in 1833. "Another revolution of public sentiment almost as remarkable and much more intelligible has occurred in the South in respect to African Colonization. Its original opponents in that quarter of the Union have generally grounded their arms. Their opposition has been subdued by reason and experience. They have seen success crown the undertaking. They behold the great good it is effecting to both races, and they have been convinced and converted. It is for that reason the fanatics have thrown themselves against it. In expended progressive and permanent benefit to the human race, we believe it the master scheme of this or any other age."

CHAPTER X.

The sayings and doings of the Abolitionists. Their furious war against the Colonization Society. Garrison, Wilberforce, Daniel, O' Connell, John Tyler, H. G. Otis.

"Who that has the heart of a christian, of a patriot, or even of a man, must not deprecate any movements that threaten the public peace, and endanger that Union, which is our strength, our happiness, and our glory. *Procul, oh procul este profani*, would we exclaim to those rash men who in the delirium of imagined philanthropy, would kindle or fan a flame that would leave them (should heaven ever again shed light upon their minds) only to weep over the fragments and ashes of this grand and holy temple of Liberty.

Rev. R. Randolph Gurley in 1833.

In the year 1832, at the very time that some Southern men were charging the Colonization Society with being an Abolition Society in disguise, William L. Garrison, the champion of the Abolitionists, published an elaborate indictment of the Colonization Society, containing the following counts, viz: "The Colonization Society is the friend of the slaveholder and the apologist for slavery; it is the enemy of immediate emancipation; it traduces the free colored people and would prevent their elevation in this country; it seeks to exile them from their native land; it rivets the chains of the slave and quiets the conscience of the slaveholders. These and other like propositions are argued at

length and the official documents of the Society and the speeches of its advocates are cited in proof of them.

Garrison not content with waging a ferocious warfare against the society in America, followed Mr. Cresson to England for the sake of counteracting the influence of that gentleman, who had commended the cause of African Colonization to the judgments and sympathies of the leading British philanthropists. In consequence of his misrepresentations, Wilberforce, Daniel, O'Connel and others, published what they were pleased to call a "Protest against the American Colonization Society." In this impertinent document they object to the society upon the grounds that "It fosters and increases the spirit of caste already too predominant; widens the breach between the two races—exposes the free colored people to practical persecution and finally it is calculated to swallow up or divert that feeling, as a christian nation and a free country we cannot but entertain that Slavery is incompatible with law the of God and the well-being of man. On these grounds therefore they say, while we acknowledge *the Colony of Liberia to be in itself a good thing*, we utterly repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society, which in our judgment is not deserving of the countenance of the British public.

Signed,

William Wilberforce, Suffield.

Daniel O' Connell.	*S. Lushington, M. P.*
Tho. F. Buxton.	*Wm. Evans, M. P.*
Sam. Gurney.	*James Cropper.*
Geo. Stephen.	*William Allen.*

This precious document was paraded with great effect in the North and was perhaps an encouragement to the mission of that audacious emissary of British Abolitionists (Thompson) who dishonored his country and disgraced himself by calumniating Southern slaveholders to Northern Abolitionists.

The Colonization Society has been pursued by the Abolitionists with the most relentless hostility.

It is a favorite theme of denunciation and misrepresentation in their newspapers and at their anniversaries. Their wrath never seems to wax so hot as when a Colonizationist is the object of it.

In a tract issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society, now lying before us, it is objected to the Colonization Society that "it had its birth in Virginia and was founded by slaveholders; that its first President was Judge Washington of Virginia, that its first seventeen Vice-Presidents were from the South; that its managers were owners of slaves; that John Randolph spoke at its formation and said that 'it tended to secure the property of the master in the slave;' that Mr. Clay said, 'I am a slaveholder and consider that property as inviolable as any other property;' that Wm. S. Archer said 'the Society involves no intrusion on property, nor even on prejudice;' that Henry A. Wise said 'the great original principle on which it is founded is friendship to the slaveholder;' that the Managers say 'we are restrained by the terms of our association from making emancipation our object;' that the rights of masters are secure in our eyes;' that it would be as humane to throw negroes overboard as to free them in this country; that Judge Washington told his slaves that they need not expect emancipation and soon after sold fifty-four of them in New Orleans; that the second President, Charles Carrol of Carrolton held through life and bequeathed at his death a thousand slaves; that Mr. Madison another President left one hundred slaves to his heirs; that Mr. Clay directed that his slaves should be held in bonds for twenty-five years after his death and then be sent to Liberia; that Colonization retards emancipation because the removal of the free blacks enhances the value of the slaves; and finally that the enemies of slavery are the enemies of the Colonization Society."

It would be easy to fill a volume with the railings of the Abolitionists against the Colonization Society.

But these fanatical crusaders were not content with making war upon the Colonization Society. Their hatred extended to the Constitution and the Union which opposed invincible barriers to the consummation of their treasonable projects. Their presses teemed with every form of incendiary literature, from the little primer in which children were taught that A. B. stood for abolition, to the ponderous volume in which the Bible and he constitution were expounded by the "new philosophy."

In July 1835 the American Anti-Slavery Society issued 175,000 copies of newspapers and pamphlets, some of which were illustrated with hideous carricatures of Southern men, women and children, brandishing whips and other instruments of torture over crouching slaves, and exulting in the sufferings of their helpless victims. The United States mail was the medium through which these seeds of insurrection were sown broadcast over the Southern States. The result was an intense excitement among Southern people. Meetings were called and measures adopted suitable to the crisis in Richmond, Norfolk, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and in the counties of Fluvanna, Augusta and Gloucester, &c. At the Gloucester meeting John Tyler, then a senator in congress, made a powerful speech. Insurrectionary papers whenever found were searched and burned. Retaliatory measures were devised; privileges hitherto allowed to slaves were withdrawn, and a more rigorous policy adopted. The Richmond Compiler, of the 2nd of August, 1835, said "the Abolitionists have proved the worst enemies of the colored race by their ill-judged interference."

The more conservative and patriotic people of the North, disgusted with these revolutionary proceedings of their fellow citizens, assembled in public meeting and assured the South of their sympathy and support. Conspicuous among them was the venerable Harrison Gray Otis of Boston, who came forth from his retirement and in accents trembling with age, made a speech in Faneuil Hall which covered him with glory. With the most luminous reasoning he demonstrated the revolutionary character of the Anti-Slavery proceedings, and lifted up his voice in tones of such earnest remonstrance and made such a patriotic and pathetic plea for the Constitution and the Union, as must have made a profound impression upon his hearers. In concluding he said, "I witnessed the adoption of the Constitution and through a long series of years have been accustomed to rely upon an adherence to it as the foundation of all my hopes for posterity. It is threatened, I think, with the most portentous danger that has yet arisen: I pray it may be dissipated—that the thirteen stripes may not be merged in too dismal stains of black and red, and that my grave may close over me, before Union descends into her's." Among the the persons who contributed to expose the pernicious doctrines of the Garrison School, the name of the Rev. Joseph Tracy, the present efficient Agent of the Massachusetts Colonization Society should not be omitted. There was danger at one time that a large and influential body of christians, in New England, would be swept away from their moorings in the Bible by the desolating tide of fanaticism. Mr. Tracy manfully stemmed the tide, and helped to bring out into broad day before the churches the dreadful fact that the logical consequence of the anti-slavery doctrine was the most frightful anarchy. The party, however, soon split into factions and began, in Mr. Tracy's phrase, "to say against each other all that need be said." While all this excitement was raging, the Colonization Society of Virginia was quietly pursuing the even tenor of its way. Not a year elapsed without some emigration from this State to Liberia, although the number as we have seen, was reduced from 292 in 1831 to one in 1835. The contributions in money were only $2,000 in 1834, and $3,000 in 1835, rising gradually in amount as the excitement subdued, until in 1836 it reached nearly $8,000. The Lynchburg Society said truly in its report, "the greatest cause which weakens the claims of Colonization, is the infatuated and misguided efforts of that portion of American citizens styling themselves Abolitionists."

The conservative ground taken by the Colonization Society during these troublous times is well illustrated by the following resolutions passed at its annual meetings in 1834 and 1835.

On the 20th of January, 1834, the following resolution, moved by Mr. Maxwell, was passed, "while we regard the attempts of certain Anti-slavery Societies at the north to propagate their false and fanatical principles within the limits of our Southern States, as dangerous and pernicious in the highest degree, we shall cordially welcome the co-operation of the people of all parts of the Union in prosecuting the great enterprise of African Colonization, which honestly and fairly pursuing its single object, the removal of all free people of color to Africa, operates

at the same time incidentally to encourage the emancipation of slaves, by furnishing facilities for transporting them to the colony of Liberia.

On the 7th of January, 1835, on motion of Edward Colston, of Berkeley, it was resolved, that it is not true, as has been falsely and injuriously asserted by some objectors, that the movement of our Society is either designed or at all likely to interfere in any manner whatever with the rights of masters over their slaves as established by law, but on the contrary, it must rather tend to make them more secure, while it shall be deemed expedient to retain them, and at the same time more disposeable for any purpose of benevolence to which they may be applied.

In this connection we may appropriately notice the withdrawal of Gerrit Smith from the Colonization Society and the reasons assigned by him for this step.

"The Colonization Society has been and is now far more interested in the question of slavery than in the work of Colonization—*in demolishing the Anti-Slavery Society* than in bnilding up its Colony."

CHAPTER XI.

Rev. Mr. McKenny's agency; Young Men's Colonization Society, Richmond, and Anti-Abolition resolutions of Colonization Society of Virginia. Death of Chief Justice Marshall; Resolutions of the Board of Managers on the occasion; Mr. Macfarland's resolution and Mr. Atkinson's eulogy of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Fitzhugh, Brodnax. Election of Officers for 1836.

Several facts were inadvertently omitted under their proper dates, which may be appropriately introduced at this stage of our narrative. In the year 1832 a society was formed in Richmond by the young men under the auspices of Gustavus A. Myers, R. T. Daniel, J. B. Macmurdo and B. F. Watson.

It was called the Junior Colonization Society. We have no record of its operations, except the fact that it issued an address to the young men of the State, inviting them to organize for a like purpose.

In August of the same year, the Rev. W. McKenny of the Methodist church was appointed Agent of this Society, which he served several years with zeal and efficiency. Soon after his appointment he prepared a paper shewing the rise, progress and necessity of African Colonization, with an appeal in favor of the cause. One thousand copies of this document were printed by order of the Board. We regret that we have not succeeded in finding a copy of it as it might furnish materials for the illustration of our subject.

In April 1835, a meeting of the citizens of Richmond, friendly to the cause of Colonization was held for the purpose of devising measures for carrying into effect resolutions of the Society at Washington to raise $100,000. It was recommended to the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society of Virginia, to endeavor to raise $10,000 of this sum, to be applied to the establishment of a new settlement in Africa, to be called New Virginia, and commending to the confidence of our citizens Col. Hall an Agent of the American Colonization Society in this State.

The Board, on the 8th of April, acceded to the proposition and commended Col. Hall as a person who from long experience and intimate knowledge of his native State, would be able to present the claims of the Society in their proper aspect. At the same time the Board passed the following resolution, viz:

The opposition of the Abolition Societies in the Northern States to African Colonization, ought of itself to convince the people of the slave-holding States that Colonization as patronised by this Society, is entirely disconnected with any project of immediate or prospective emancipation.

This was the last occasion on which Chief Justice Marshall presided.

At the next meeting of the Board of Managers on the 28th of October, 1835, we find on record the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, unanimously, That the members of this Board do cherish with affection and respect the memory of the late Chief Justice Marshall, as well for the many virtues that adorned his character, as for the countenance and support uniformly given by him to this Society.

At the next annual meeting of the Society, which was held in the Capitol on the 8th

of January, 1836, the following resolution was passed on motion of Wm. H. Macfarland, viz:

Resolved, That this Society in common with the whole country, most deeply deplore the death of John Marshall, her late illustrious President, her wise Counsellor and beneficent Patron.

We regret that we have not a copy of the remarks with which Mr. McFarland accompanied this resolution. This regret is deepened by an allusion to those remarks in an eloquent address delivered by the Rev. William Atkinson in illustrating the proposition that the scheme of African Colonization was supported by our most illustrious statesmen; men as well qualified as any of their fellow-citizens, to judge of the true interests of Virginia, and whom malice had never charged with disloyalty to their native State—added, "of the living, sir, it might be invidious to speak: but I dare not sir, on such an occasion, omit to name the Nestor of his country—that illustrious man who while his grateful heart contemplates the expanding glories of his native land, is saddened by the recollection that of the sages who laid the foundation of her greatness, he alone remains. It can be no disparagement of other men to name the chief of living statesmen, the President of the American Colonization Society, James Madison. Of our own late President (John Marshall) it would be unnecessary as it would be presumptuous for me to say much, after the beautiful and touching tribute which has been just paid to his memory by my friend who immediately preceded me, (Mr. Macfarland.) But, sir, I recollect that he fell not alone. Almost at the same moment that Virginia and this Society were deprived of the illustrious Marshall, they were called to mourn the untimely death of one (Thomas Marshall) who with his name and blood possessed also his moral excellence; a man who twelve months ago was one of the lights and ornaments of this hall; in a most trying station manifesting the most honorable impartiality; always respected, always confided in, always loved; when I think of the almost simultaneous deaths of these distinguished men, my heart instinctively takes up the lament of the sweet singer of Israel over another father and another son slain together on the mountains of Gilboa, 'How are the mighty fallen; they were lovely and pleasant in their lives and in their death they were not divided.' When the Colonization Society was established, Mr. Jefferson had retired from public life. He took no active part in any enterprise of a public nature, except that noble institution which he left behind him as a monument more durable than brass. But his correspondence exhibits him as deeply imbued with Colonization principles, and I am justified in placing him in the same bright roll with Madison and Marshall. To these must be added another name venerable for wisdom, virtue and patriotism—the name of one who was twice the chief magistrate of Virginia, and twice the chief magistrate of the United States. His early correspondence with Jefferson, had impressed our principles deeply on the understanding and heart of James Monroe. He became President of the United States at the beginning of our operations. All the aid which it was practicable for him to give consistently with his Virginia principles of Constitutional construction, was cheerfully afforded during his whole term, and though not the founder of the Society, it may be truly said that but for him Liberia would not have existed. Wm. H. Crawford and Henry Clay, natives of our State, ceased to be Virginians by residence, but they always continued Southern men, and they were among the most able supporters of the Colonization cause. Among those of our statesmen who devoted their talents to the service of Virginia, but never filled stations under the Federal Government, have been many who though less known to fame than their compeers, have richly merited all the honor due to high talent, pure patriotism and sterling moral principle. Among these our society has found efficient friends. I dare not pass unnoticed Blackburn, the orator of the Alleghany, whose wit has so often shaken the gravity of this hall, while his pathetic eloquence has moved the inmost soul of his hearers. And how can I forget Fitzhugh, who take him for all in all approaches as

nearly as any man who ever lived, the beau-ideal of a Virginia gentleman. Especially should I be faithless to justice and to friendship, if I should omit in this catalogue the name of one who from my early childhood was the friend of my bosom, and for many years my brother beloved in Christ, the name of him who four years ago was the foremost in pressing upon our Assembly the cause of Colonization as the only safe policy for Virginia, the name of Brodnax, who by a mysterious dispensation of Providence was cut down in the midst of his years and of his usefulness, (too soon as to our bleeding hearts it seemed) for his family, his friends, his country, too soon for this Society, too soon for the church of God, too soon for all but himself. He was spared till those around saw that through the influence of the Holy Spirit he had become ripe for Herven, and then amid the triumphs of faith and hope, his emancipated spirit seemed rather like the ancient Prophet to be borne to Heaven in a chariot of fire than to suffer the common doom of our fallen nature."

The sensibilities of the nation were painfully excited in May 1836, by intelligence that James Madison was ill. On the 27th of June he dictated a letter to Professor George Tucker. The letter was signed and franked by himself. On the following day he died as if in a gentle slumber. Mr. Madison was a strenuous and active friend of the Colonization Society. We subjoin the proceedings of the American Colonization Society on the occasion of his death.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Amongst the illustrious men to whom, under Divine Providence, the people of this great and prosperous Republic are indebted for their national existence, and for all the blessings of a wise, free, and happy form of government, not a name deserves to be held in more grateful remembrance than that of James Madison. To virtues which would have honoured the brightest character of Rome, he added the graces of the Christian, and combined at once and in the highest degree the best attributes of the patriot with the purity and virtues of private life. With a character thus adorned, and a long life devoted to the service of country, he has at length gone to receive the reward of both. He has descended to the tomb full of years and full of honors, and amidst the universal regrets of his countrymen. Blessed indeed is the memory of that man whose name a whole people rise up with one heart and one accord to honor. Participating as this Board sincerely does, in the sorrow of their fellow-citizens for a common loss, the mombers of the American Colonization Society are called upon in an especial manner to mourn an event which has deprived them of the President and honored head of their Institution, his warm and constant attachment to which was in consonance with the wisdom and philanthropy which distinguished him through life. In testimony therefore of the profound veneration and grateful respect in which his memory is held by this Board,

Resolved, That the members of this Board have heard with the deepest regret of the decease of their venerated fellow-citizen, James Madison, late President of the United States, and President of the American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That the members of this Board will wear the usual badge of mourning on the left arm for one month.

Resolved, That the next settlement which shall be established in the Colony of Liberia bear the name of Madison.

Resolved, That there be procured a bust or portrait of the deceased, to be placed in the office of the Board of Managers.

Resolved, That the President of the Board transmit a copy of these resolutions to the respected widow of the deceased sage, with the assurances of the sincere condolence of this Board in her great and irreparable loss.

JAMES LAURIE,

President of the Board of Managers.

A true copy from the minutes:

P. R. Fendall, *Recorder.*

Subjoined are the letters of the President of the Board of Managers, communicating the foregoing Resolutions to Mrs. Madison, and her answer:

WASHINGTON, JULY 21, 1836.

Madam:—The Resolutions which I have the honor to enclose, were passed unanimously by the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, of which the eminent Patriot and Statesman, whose decease led to their adoption, was the venerated President. On that Institution his exalted worth shed a hallowed and benign influence, and long and affectionately will his memory be cherished by those who were encouraged by his opinions and aided by his liberality in a season of no ordinary difficulty and trial. And it is animating to know that his regard for the society and his confidence in those by whom its affairs have been conducted remained unshaken to the very close of his honourable and distinguished career—and were so unequivocally expressed by him in his will.

By this bereavement we have lost a tried and unwavering friend. The loss we deeply deplore. And what citizen of this great Republic, which he did so much to elevate, deplores it not? But that loss, madam, which we so poignantly feel, must be felt with an intensity of which we can form no adequate conception by you—*you* who were his companion in the journey of life—*you* who shared so richly in the exercise of his social and domestic virtues,—his partner in sorrow and in joy.

The Resolutions enclosed evince the high estimation in which the late lamented President of the American Colonization Society was held by the Board of Managers of that Institution; and I have been directed to convey to you the expression of our sympathy and condolence on this melancholy occasion. I feel myself honored in being the organ of this communication: and embrace the opportunity of expressing individually, my sorrow for the heavy stroke, which in the course of Divine Providence has fallen upon you. May he by whom that stroke has been inflicted, support you under it! And at length (may the day be distant!) when you too shall be summoned hence, may it be to the enjoyment of imperishable glory through Jesus Christ our Lord!—

I have the honor to be, madam, &c.

JAMES LAURIE,

President Board of Managers Am. Col. Society.

Mrs. DOLLY P. MADISON.

Your first communication, my kind friend, was duly received containing "an extract from the Journal of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society," of which you are President, accompanied by your impressive and excellent letter. But finding my incapacity to answer notices from Societies whose consideration and regard for my lamented husband had induced them to favor me with copies of their proceedings as well as manifestations of their sympathy, I had omitted my acknowledgments to you; which I now regret, as it appears from your last letter that some anxiety rested upon your mind on the subject of delay. This I hope you will permit me to remove, by an assurance of the deep sensibility with which I perused the Rsolutions of a Society, so highly estimated by him, for its wisdom and its philanthropy.

Yours with great respect,

D. P. MADISON.

The Rev. Dr. LAURIE.

Montpelier, August 11, 1836.

The following persons were elected officers of the Society for the year 1836, viz:

JOHN TYLER, *President.*

James Madison, James Pleasants, William Maxwell, H. G. Winston, Abel P. Upshur, John H. Cocke, Edward Colston, Judge Summers, S. S. Baxter, C. F. Mercer and James M. Garnett, *Vice-Presidents.*

Joseph Mayo, *Corresponding Secretary.*

David I. Burr, *Recording Secretary.*

Benjamin Brand, *Treasurer.*

James E. Heath, John Hampden Pleasants, Wm. H. Fitzwhylson, N. Mills, F. James, H. A. Claiborne, H. Neilson, J. C. Crane, Wm. H. Macfarland, James Gray, Gustavus A. Myers, *Managers.*

Messrs. Macfarland, Claiborne, Burr and James were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the people of the State upon the principles and purposes of the Colonization Society of Virginia.

Messrs. Myers and Pleasants were appointed to take charge of a memorial of the American Colonization Society, asking modification of the act of March 1833—said memorial being by the late President, Judge Marshall.

The Rev. Charles W. Andrews was appointed Agent of this Society.

On the 7th of April, a meeting was held in the 2nd Presbyterian Church at Richmond, and addresses were made by the Rev. Ch. W. Andrews, the Rev. Mr. Jeter, the Rev. Dr. Plummer and the Rev. Mr. Wood. On motion of Mr. Andrews, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That we regard the claims of Africa to the sympathies of American Christians as among the most affecting claims urged by the Heathen world.

2. That we hear with peculiar satisfaction the opening furnished in the good Providence of God for meeting these claims, through the enterprise of colonizing such of our free people of color as may be disposed to emigrate.

3. That to all human appearance the best interests of religion and humanity would be promoted by the active prosecution of this benevolent object.

4. That when this Society in all its operations is injurious to none, it is especially beneficial to the South.

CHAPTER XII.

Petition to the Legislature; Report of Select Committee of Jan. 30, 1837; Extract from Fredericksburg Arena; Annual Meeting of 1837; Extract from Report; Speeches of Messrs. Marshall, Randolph, Anderson, Smith and Maxwell.

The Colonization Society of Virginia petitioned the Legislature of that State at its present session for a charter. The petition, together with others on the subject of African Colonization, was referred to a Select Committee of the House of Delegates.

On the 30th of January, Mr. Watkins, from the Select Committee on the subject of African Colonization, made the following report:

The committee to whom was referred the petition of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society of Virginia, together with a petition of divers citizens of Fredericksburg, on the same subject, have had the said petitions under their consideration, and have come to the following resolutions thereupon:

Resolved, That so much of the petition as prays for the passage of an act to incorporate the said society (but subject to alteration and repeal at all times) is *reasonable*.

Resolved, That so much of the petition as prays for an amendment of the act of 1833, making provision for the removal of free persons of color from this State, and for a removal of the restrictions which have hitherto rendered that provision unavailing, *is reasonable*.

On the 1st of February, a petition was presented to the House of Delegates, by Mr. May, of Citizens of Petersburg, for aid to the Colonization Society of Virginia, and one by Mr. Willis, of the Colonization Society of Lynchburg, asking aid from the Legislature.

"We should deem it," says the able and eloquent Editor of the Fredericksburg Arena, "supererogatory to enter, at this day, on the discussion of the merits of the colonization scheme. Suffice to say, it is emphatically a Virginia measure, and had its origin in certain resolutions of the Legislature early in the present century—that it has received the support of our most enlightened statesmen and purest patriots, and that it commends itself now to the munificent liberality of the Legislature, by considerations which cannot be overlooked by any man solicitous for the welfare of the good old Commonwealth. We confine our views to the scheme, as a politico-economical measure, in which respect only, perhaps, statesmen may legitimately legislate upon it. Not that we are insensible to the other glorious relations of the enterprise. Who, that has a heart, could view with indifference the results that must accrue to Africa herself, from the introduction of civilization and christianity, through its instrumentality? And it is surely no objection to the scheme, that, affecting beneficially our social and political condition, it passes from the thousands and hundreds of thousands, who are its immediate beneficia-

ries, and bears upon the destinies of a distant continent.

> "Its blest effects low reaching to the earth,
> Its low'ring summit lost beyond the thought
> Of man or angel."

"With respect to Colonization in Virginia, a new era has dawned. The State Society has, for the first time, asked to be incorporated, and prayed legislative aid to a plan lately broached of founding a new settlement on the coast of Africa, to be called 'New Virginia.' The memorial of the society, as well as a petition from citizens of Fredericksburg praying aid to the cause, were referred to a select committee, which has reported favorably. We understand that a large majority of both Houses are disposed to do something to aid the society, and we feel persuaded, no measure would be more generally acceptable to the people at large."

Friday, February 10. A petition was presented by Mr. Stuart, of citizens of the counties of Rockingham and Augusta, praying an appropriation by the Legislature in aid of the Virginia Colonization Society, and a removal of the restrictions contained in the act of the General Assembly passed in 1833.

The Richmond Whig of February 14, says: The report of the Select Committee declaring reasonable the petitions for the incorporation of the Virginia Colonization Society, and amending the act of 1833 so as to make its provisions available, was agreed to by the House of Delegates yesterday, and a bill ordered.

A meeting of the Virginia Colonization Society was held at the capitol, on Wednesday evening, January 11, 1837. The audience was one of the most numerous and intelligent ever convened in Richmond. The President being absent, Judge May was called to the chair.

The annual report was then presented and read by the Rev. Chas. W. Andrews, general agent of the society.

After noticing the early history of Africa, the project of planting colonies there, conceived in 1783 by Granville Sharpe, the founder of Sierra Leone, the accessions in 1791 to that settlement, of slaves taken by the British army in our revolutionary war, and first settled in Nova Scotia; the subsequent accession, about the year 1805, of the Maroons from Jamaica; the extension of the patronage of the British Government to this colony in 1807; and the present number, near 30,000, of its present population, the report gives a brief history of the American scheme of African Colonization. It adverts to the support given to it by Mr. Monroe, Chief Justice Marshall, Mr. Madison, and other distinguished Virginians, and to the deaths of two who were Vice Presidents of the Virginia society—James Pleasants, formerly Governor of the State, and Horatio G. Winston. It states that, prior to 1828, two legislative appropriations in aid of it were made; and that though, in consequence of the restrictions annexed to the act of March 4, 1833, but little benefit proceeded from it, the amount of private donations had been increased. "As far," it adds, "as public sentiment can be ascertained, it is believed that the whole community are desirous of the success of this cause. Instances have occurred, in which all the religious denominations of a town, closing their respective places of worship on the sabbath, have assembled at one place, to hear the claims of this great work of Christian charity.

"The amount of funds raised during the past year shows an increase over former years which is truly encouraging. The amount raised in Virginia during the year 1834 was about $2,000, in 1835 about $3,000, and in 1836 the amount raised or subscribed is near $8,000. Of this, $1,500 was from the estate of the late General Blackburne, and other considerable sums having been paid to the present board, will not appear in the account of the treasurer of this society. Between $300 and $400, raised in Norfolk, is retained by the auxiliary society there, with the hope of increasing it to such an amount as will enable them to send a vessel, with emigrants to Africa, from that place.

"Many of the most prominent individuals in different parts of the State have manifested a praiseworthy zeal in promoting the interests of colonization."

On motion of Mr. Marshall, of Fauquier,

Resolved, That the report of the Board of

Managers be adopted, and printed under their direction.

On motion of Mr. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, of Albemarle,

Resolved, That the members of this society, in common with every member of the community, are deeply penetrated with regret for the loss of their distinguished fellow-citizen, James Madison, late the first vice president of this society; and that they are called upon to mention with gratitude his warm attachment and munificent liberality to this institution; and that they have heard, with pleasure, the determination of the parent society to call by his name the next settlement which shall be founded in Liberia.

Mr. Randolph said, having known Mr. Madison, sir, from my earliest childhood—having known him in the full power of his gigantic intellect, in the employments of the highest official station, in the peaceful retirement of private life, in its decline and honored age, until he was gathered to his fathers, loved and lamented; having, in common with my countrymen, admired him for his talents and services; honored him for his patriotism, and loved him as a great and good man; loving him myself with a truly filial affection, I shall make no apology for presenting this slight testimonial of respect to his memory. In looking around upon this numerous audience, in beholding the drapery of mourning for his death still pendant from the chair in which you sit, I am warned that any commendatory remarks, any attempt at an appeal to your feelings, would be utterly untimed and misplaced.

On motion of Mr. Anderson, of Botetourt,

Resolved, That this society adheres to the object of its original institution, and is entirely distinct from, and opposed to, those foreign and fanatical associations which seek to revolutionize the domestic relations of the Southern States.

In support of this resolution, Mr. Anderson, after remarking on the object of the "venerable patriots, philantropists, and christians, who laid the foundation of the Colonization Society; on their desire to meliorate the condition of the free negroes, (the most degraded portion of our population;) to elevate them from their debased condition to the standard of enlightened freemen and citizens; to afford an opportunity and hold out an inducement to the liberal and humane master, to emancipate his meritorious slaves," adverted to the effect of the institution in transmitting to Africa "our arts and sciences, our free, useful, and enlightened institutions, and our pure and sublime religion." The orator then characterized the colonizing scheme as the most effectual means of suppressing the horrible slave trade. In asserting its opposition to abolition associations, he used the following language:

Sir, I had been disposed to think that many of my Southern friends were attaching too much importance to these associations; but since their incendiary schemes have received not only the countenance, but the approbation and support of the Executive department, of at least one of the first States of this confederacy, it is time for the Old Dominion, and all those who have common interest with her, to be girding on their armor. Sir, this is a controversy which cannot be settled by argument. The honor and safety of the South require that the first onset should be met at the point of the bayonet. In such a contest I do not fear the result. In the present crisis, it behooves the generous South to patronize, and liberally support, the colonization scheme, for we know the influence of public opinion. It furnishes to our gallant countrymen in foreign lands the most effectual means to repel the insolent slanders and groundless calumnies of abolitionists, as has been recently most happily illustrated by the controversy between our patriotic and talented Breckinridge and a distinguished Scotch abolitinist. What American can read his able and triumphant defence of his countrymen, against the false and diabolical attacks of abolitionists, without feeling his heart burn within him? Sir, it is the true policy as well as the duty of the South, to patronise with a liberal hand the colonization scheme; and I hope that our Legislature will, at the present session, set an example to her sister States worthy of imitation, by making a liberal appropriation to this generous and noble scheme—an institution which breathes love to God and peace and good will to men.

On motion of Mr. Smith, of Culpeper,

Resolved, That the progress and present condition of our colonies in Africa warrant

the hope which we entertain, that they will continue to flourish and promote all the best interests of Africa, and the whole African race.

The eloquent remarks of this gentleman were closed as follows:

"Our sister Maryland has a magnificent appropriation of $200,000 devoted to this great object; but what have we done? Nothing, sir! no, nothing to which we can advert with pride and pleasure. It is true, Mr. President, we have a standing appropriation of $18,000 a year; but this inconsiderable sum is so shackled as to be unavailing. Let the General Assembly, then, brush this obstacle from our path. So wide awake are the people to the importance of colonizing our free negroes—so deeply sensible of the justice and enlarged benevolence which prompts their settlement on the shores of Africa, that I doubt not they would cheerfully sustain their delegates here, in freely dipping into the public crib, in aid of an object so dear to the head and heart, whether regarded as one of policy or humanity; I, at least, as the honored representative of a people, both enlightened and benevolent, would not hesitate to vote decided and efficient aid.

"Mr. President, one more suggestion, and I have done. The day on which our forefathers first placed their feet upon these shores, at Jamestown, is celebrated as an anniversary. Let the day on which the first settlement was made in Africa be likewise thus commemorated. On that day, let every minister of God, throughout the christian world, deliver appropriate addresses, and take up collections, in aid of this great and sacred undertaking. The appeal would not be in vain. The sublime fact that, at the same moment, throughout this broad land, the servants of the Most High were making the same spirit-stirring appeal, in aid of this holy work, would of itself strike the chords of sympathy in our souls, and be inevitably productive of the sweetest and happiest results.

"Sir, I could speak upon this subject from the rising to the setting sun; but I will not longer detain you and this assembly. I move the adoption of the resolution which I have had the honor to submit."

On motion of Mr. Maxwell, of Norfolk, *Resolved*, That the Managers of the Society be, and they are hereby, instructed to take proper measures for obtaining a suitable tract of territory on the coast of Africa, for the establishment of a new plantation, to be called New Virginia; and to be settled by free people of color, including manumitted slaves, from our own State, as soon as the necessary funds can be obtained for the purpose, from the patriotic contributions of our fellow-citizens, and the generous aid of the Legislature of our Commonwealth.

In offering this resolution, Mr. Maxwell said, he begged leave to offer a resolution, for which the resolution which they had just adopted, and the eloquent remarks which they have heard in support of it, from his friend from Washington, (Mr. Gurley,) had most happily prepared the way, and which he should submit to the meeting with great pleasure, as it was in perfect accordance with all the convictions of his understanding, and with all the feelings of his heart. It was in these words, [here Mr. M. read the resoluion, and then proceeded.]

Mr. President, I am one of those who hailed the first establishment of the American Colonization Society, about twenty years ago, with warm, and I may say, with enthusiastic delight. I thought then, sir, as I think now, that the object of the society—the sole and single object which it had honestly avowed, and which all will agree it has most faithfully and honorably pursued, which was to remove our free people of color, with their own consent, from our country to the coast of Africa, the land of their fathers—was worthy of all support, both as it promised to promote the welfare of the emigrants themselves, and, at the same time, to liberate our land from a part of its population which it could well spare, and which it would in fact be better without. And looking beyond the immediate object of the enterprise to the influence which it would naturally and evitably exert upon the institution of slavery as it exists in our Southern States, I thought that the influence could be only salutary and benign; for I saw at once, sir, that it could only operate—as we see it has in fact operated—to enable and encourage masters to manumit their slaves, simply by removing all the obstructions and impediments which had previously prevented them

from doing it, which had damned up, as it were, "the genial current of their souls," and leaving the stream to flow on, in its own natural and proper channel, to the ocean. In this way, I thought it was obvious that it must do great good; for it must tend to lessen at least, and if it was prosecuted with proper spirit, might greatly lessen, and in conjunction with other measures, which it would perhaps suggest an aid, might ultimately even remove entirely the whole of that enormous evil under which our country had so long groaned, and under which it groans to this hour. I thought too, sir, as I remember it was strongly argued at that time, that the establishment of colonies of these people, at different points along the coast of Africa, would do much to abolish that most impious and infamous traffic, that atrocious "piracy," as it has been most justly enacted and branded to be—the slave trade. And I thought, moreover, that whilst we were prosecuting our enterprise, we should be diffusing the benefits of our free institutions, and all the blessings of our gracious and glorious Christianity, through that dark and benighted region of the world, with the most happy effect.

"With these views, sir, I rejoiced with all my heart in the establishment of the society. And I rejoiced the more in it, sir, because I knew that it had emanted in fact from the counsel of our own State, from a resolution which, as we have heard, had been adopted but a short time before, by the honorable body which holds its sessions in this hall—by the House of Delegates of our State. The society was thus the creature, the child of Virginia; and as they tell us that fabulous Minerva broke out full armed from the head of Jupiter, so this fair, this real divinity, I saw had sprung forth, not exactly full armed, (for she was indeed most peaceable and most amiable in all her aspects,) but full-formed, in all her wisdom and all her charms, from the head, and from the heart, of our virgin Commonwealth; and I loved the beautiful daughter not only for her own, but also for her mother's sake.

"With these sentiments, sir, I have heard from time to time, with great satisfaction, the intelligence which we have received of the progress of our cause, and of the growing and flourishing state of the colonies, which we have heard this evening from the report which has been read, and which serve to show us what we have done, and what we may do. And I have been particularly pleased, sir, to see that Virginia has favored and fostered these colonies, which are in fact her own, with the care which she owed them; for I cannot agree, sir, in the remark that has been dropped, that she has not done her part by them. The charge indeed has been, not unkindly I am sure, but still I must say most unjustly brought against her. On the contrary, I think, and must say, that we, the people of Virginia, have contributed as liberally to them as those of any part of the United States, *according to our means.* I say *according to our means*; for if we have not given quite as much as some others, in donations of money, we are not so rich as some others. We are comparatively, indeed, if not positively, a poor people. We cannot afford to give as much as those who have got the wealth of the country in their hands. But according to our ability, (which I take to be the true measure of liberality,) I maintain that we have given as generously to this cause as those of any State in our Union, *even in money.* And we have given much more *in men*, in manumitted slaves, who would have brought money in the market, if their masters had not nobly preferred giving them their freedom for nothing; for nothing at least but the generous and godlike pleasure of liberating them in this way. And we have given *some* men to these colonies, sir, whose value, whose services to them, have been above all price, and *one*, particularly, whom I may mention, now no more, (for he died a martyr to the cause of infant liberty in Africa,) who was worth more than his weight in gold—I mean the eloquent, the pious, and the gallant Lot Carey, an emigrant from this city, whose talents, whose virtues, and whose devotion to the cause for which he lived, and in which he died, have won the admiration of all who knew him, or have heard of him; and whose name, sir, black as he was, shall brighten one of the brightest pages in the history of Africa, and of Virginia who gave him to her, to the end of time. So our citizens, I say, (or many of them,) have done their duty to this cause.

and some of our utmost distinguished men, (as we have seen,) have signalized their attachment to it by benefactions and bequests which are worth infinitely more than the mere money which they involved, from the association and sanction of their memorable names.

And our Legislature, too, has done something for it; not as much, indeed, as I could have wished; but still something worth remembering. It has given our emigrants, on two different occasions, supplies of clothes and implements of husbandry; and it has passed, two or three years ago, a generous act making a liberal appropriation of ninety thousand dollars, payable in five annual instalments of eighteen thousand dollars each, to promote and encourage the emigration of free people of color from our own State to Liberia. It is true, indeed, as the report has reminded us, it unfortunately clogged this noble grant with conditions, which have almost nullified it in fact; but in so doing, it has, I am sure, unwittingly defeated its own design; and I cannot doubt for a moment that it will, at a word, readily knock off those inconvenient shackles from the act, and set it free. And I think, too, I may venture to predict, and almost promise for it, that it will, at no distant day, do still more for our aid, and something that shall be altogether worthy of itself, and of our cause. So I think, sir, there is no reason to complain that our State has not done its part, and its full part, with others, in this good work.

Still I must confess, and do, that we have not done all that we ought to have done, nor the half, nor the thousandth part, indeed, considering the magnitude of the undertaking, and our immediate interest in the prosecution of it; and I do most heartily agree with my worthy friend from Washington, that the time is now fairly come, when we ought to increase our exertions in this noble cause. The success which has attended our past efforts, and the growing popularity of our enterprise, do indeed warrant, and ought to encourage us to put forth all our strength to accelerate its course. In sailor's phrase, we have got a good *offing*, and we should no longer hug the shore, but launch out boldly into the deep, and spread our sails to the winds of heaven. The ocean, you see, sir, smooths his waves before us, and Africa comes out from her woods to welcome and embrace the ship that comes laden with her sons and daughters, and with innumerable and incalculable blessings for her race, and for all mankind.

In this spirit, I propose, sir, in the words of the resolution, that we instruct our managers "to take proper measures for obtaining a suitable tract of territory on the coast of Africa, for the establishment of a new plantation, to be called New Virginia, and to be settled by free people of color, including manumitted slaves, from our own State," &c. I call it a new "*plantation*," sir, because it was the term originally applied to our own colony, and I wish our new one to be, as it were, a slip from the old stock. I mean, however, that our plantation shall be, to all intents and purposes, a State—a "free, sovereign, and independent State," in all the fullest and freest sense of the term; yet not a solitary or single one, but bearing some such relation to Liberia, and to the American Colonization Society, of course, as our State does to the United States, or to the Union, and to the General Government; for we must have, in due time, a Union there also; another constellation, sir, if you please, of social stars, mingling their rays together in another hemisphere. This is the general idea, sir, which it is not necessary, I suppose, to explain more particularly just now. And the reasons which recommend this proceeding are plain and strong. I shall not detain you, however, at this late hour, to state them at large; but I will just throw them out as briefly as possible.

And, in the first place, it appears to me that, by establishing a new and separate colony of our own, we shall naturally feel a new and particular interest in its welfare. As it is, indeed, we do not throw these people off from us, as aliens unworthy of our regard. We do not throw them overboard, as some seem to think, and leave them to swim for their lives. No, sir, but we follow them with our eyes, and our hearts, to that distant shore; and we sympathize with them in all their fortunes and their fates. But, as things are, we cannot see them quite so distinctly as we could wish; for we often lose

sight of them as they become mixed up in the mass of emigrants from other States. I propose, then, to put them down in "a suitable tract of territory," and keep them there together, that we may see more clearly what they are doing, and how they are going on, and coming on; and brood over them, as it were, with our whole hearts. We shall know them all then, sir, almost individually, by their names, (which are our own names,) and look upon them, not as outcasts, but as brethren, whom we might be a little ashamed, perhaps, to own for such while here, but whom we may acknowledge with affection, and even pride, in their proper place. So we shall certainly feel a stronger interest in them than we do already. Of course, too, we shall enlarge our liberality to them. We shall give more to aid them in going out, and to set them up in their own land.

At the same time, our people of color themselves, I am sure, will like this arrangement. At present, we see, they are scattered about amongst others, and are looked upon, it appears, with rather jealous eyes, by some of them; for it seems, as we have just heard, (and I own I have been a little amused to hear it,) they carry out with them that passion for governing which they have doubtless caught from us, (though they could hardly show it here,) a inkling to manage public affairs, and have all things their own way—*only to have them right.* But others, it seems, are not quite willing to let them; and that is very natural, too. Well then, sir, we will colonize them by themselves—we will set them down there together; and leave them to strive for the mastery with one another; when the most eminent and ethereal spirits amongst them will, of course, mount up over the rest, by the mere buoyancy of merit—pretty much as it is here at home, where the *best* and *wisest*, you know, sir, are *always* uppermost—and that will be all fair play, and all *exactly* right, indeed. In this way, then, we shall make our free people of color more willing and ready to go out to their new plantation, which will be all their own; and more happy in it, too.

I may add, that there will be a charm in the very name of our new state, that will make it more interesting to us, and more attractive to them. We shall call it, you observe, sir, New Virginia! And who does not feel at once that there is something sweet and stirring in the very sound of this appellation? I know, indeed, the poet has said—or rather has made a lovesick damsel say—

> "What's in a name? That which we call a rose,
> By any other name would smell as sweet."

But, sir, I deny that there is either philosophy or poetry in the assertion. On the contrary, sir, I maintain that the rose by any other name in the world would not smell half as sweet as it does by that very name of rose which belongs to it, and which has been associated with all its beauty, and all its fragrance, from our earliest memory! Sir, I appeal to the hearts of all present on this point. Who has not felt the charm of a name, when linked with some charming object, that was still more charming for its sake? So the rose shall be the rose still; and we will call our new plantation New Virginia, in preference to any and every other name that we could find for it. And this name will shed an interest over our new colony, that will endear it still more to all our hearts. We shall love our New Virginia, sir, as we love the Old. And these people, sir, will love it too; for they also love our Old Virginia, as well as we. They go out from it, we see, with reluctance, (with rather more, indeed, than I could wish,) and they look back to it from their new land with grateful remembrance. I have myself heard, with great pleasure, the warm expression of this feeling from some of their own lips, and I have seen it in the letters of others. No, happy as they are in their new country, and glad as they declare themselves to be that they have got to it, still they cannot forget Old Virginia, but still remember it, with honor and affection, as their native land. And why should they not? It is true they were once slaves here, (or their fathers before them were,) but we did not make them so. We did not go out to Africa for them. We did not drag them away from their country and their kin. We did not fasten the chains of slavery upon them. No, but they were brought bound to our doors, by Dutchmen, and Englishmen, and

Yankees—ay, sir, by the fathers, perhaps, of some of those very abolitionists who would now tempt them to their ruin. They were sold to our fathers for slaves; but they fell into the hands of kind and gentle masters, who have liberated them, and sent them back again to their own country; and not the poor miserable beings that they were when they were torn away from it; but loaded with favors, a thousand times better than all the spoils of the Egyptians, with the arts of civilized life, and with the "unsearchable riches" of the gospel of Christ, ("a pearl," indeed, "richer than all their" barbarous "tribes,") to "vindicate the ways of God to man," and to show that even the ruthless violence that wrenched them so cruelly from their native shore, could be, and should be, converted into a miracle of mercy and of blessing, by his redeeming and restoring grace. At any rate, sir, they *do* love our Old Virginia, and I trust, therefore, will love our New Virginia, and seek it too, the more for its name.

Adopt, then, sir, the resolution which I submit. Send it forth to the people of our State, who will receive it with cordial approbation. Appeal to our Legislature, now in session, who will gladly aid our enterprise, and perhaps endow our new plantation with a generous grant. Address the members of the society, and our fellow citizens generally, calling upon them for new contributions to our funds in behalf of this new object, and there will not be a man, or woman, within the four corners of our land, who will not feel it to be a duty and a privilege to give something, according to ability, to the establishment of a colony which shall be as a mirror in which our Virginia shall see her fairest face reflected back upon her, in brighter beauty, across the waves of the Atlantic; and in which all mankind shall behold the grace and the glory of her justice, of her generosity, of her patriotism, and of her piety, displayed to all the nations of the earth, till time shall be no more.

On motion of Mr. Burr, the Recording Secretary,

Resolved, That this Society highly appreciates the labors of their agent, the Rev. C. W. Andrews, during the last year, and recommends to the Board of Managers to secure, if practicable, a continuation of his valuable services.

CHAPTER XIII.

Events of 1837*; Revenue of the Society; Emigration; Effect of proposition to plant "New Virginia" in Africa upon the Liberians; Movements in Legislature of Virginia; Annual Meeting, January* 1838*; Gov. Tyler's Address; Speeches of Gen. Bayly; Alex. Rives; Mr. Maxwell and Henry A. Wise.*

The Board of Managers of the Colonization Society of Virginia, on the 17th of January, 1837, appointed a committee to take measures for carrying into effect Mr. Maxwell's Resolution, to establish a "new plantation" on the Coast of Africa to be called "New Virginia." The usual circulars to the Clergy and petitions and memorials to the Legislature were prepared.

The news of the project for establishing "New Virginia" in Africa, produced quite a sensation among the Liberians, who expressed their gratification in a public meeting and at the same time rebuked the Abolitionists for their efforts to excite the prejudices of the Liberians against the Colonization Society.

The revenue of the Colonization Society of Virginia for this year, was $4,000, and the number of Emigrants from Virginia, about one hundred.

On the 3d of January, 1838, Mr. Crawford presented to the General Assembly a petition from Shenandoah, asking that the act of 1833 might be revived and amended, increasing the appropriation in aid of the Colonization Society and placing its disbursement under the control of the Virginia society, and applying it solely to the removal of free persons of color born and residing in this State. On the 23d of January, Mr. Rives from the Committee on Finance to whom this and other petitions were referred, made the following report, viz:

"We have regarded with pleasing concern the evidences of private and public interest afforded by the number of these petitions, and the anxious solicitude they display for alleviating the growing evil of a free black

population in the State. The policy which the General Assembly wisely and humanely established upon this subject and has since constantly favored, will scarcely be abandoned under such decided indications of popular support and approbation. Therefore

Resolved, That the prayer of these petitions is reasonable."

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Capitol on the 10th of January 1838. The Hon. John Tyler, President of the Society took the chair and F. James was appointed Secretary.

Upon taking the chair, the President delivered the following brief and striking inaugural address, which fully sustained his reputation as a public speaker.

Mr. Tyler on taking the chair said, he could not permit this, the first occasion on which it had been in his power to attend a meeting of the society since he had been elected its President, to pass by, without expressing his grateful sense for the honors conferred upon him. You have appointed me, said he, the successor of one whose name is destined to reach a remote posterity—of one who, in his private character and conduct, furnished an exemplification of all the virtues. John Marshall was among us as one of us—plain, unostentatious and unassuming, he left us in doubt which most to admire, his unaffected simplicity of character, or his extraordinary talents. Filling the highest judicial station—followed by the admiration of his countrymen—exerting an extensive influence by the mere force of his genius, over public opinion—his name familiar to the lips of the highest and most humble of a people inhabiting a continent, he seemed alone to be unconscious of his own exalted worth. To be appointed the successor of such a man, however great my own unworthiness, is an honor of which I have cause to be proud. The very origin of the Colonization Society is, in my memory, identified with him. At its first meeting in Washington, curiosity led me to be present; notice had been given through the newspapers of the proposed meeting at Brown's hotel, and I was attracted thither by the desire to hear what could be said in favor of a scheme in which I was short-sighted enough to regard as altogether Utopian. Let me frankly confess myself—I did consider it in its incipiency as but a dream of philanthropy, visiting men's pillows in their sleep, to cheat them on their waking. Chief Justice Marshall, with some fifteen others, were present; but that small number exhibited a constellation of talent. Henry Clay presided, John Randolph addressed the meeting, and Wm. H. Crawford was the first president of the Colonization Society. Such was the beginning of a society which now embraces thousands of the most talented and patriotic men in the country. We have been peculiarly fortunate, gentlemen, in having to preside over our deliberations, in this Hall, one so distinguished for all that can adorn a man, as Chief Justice Marshall; and at the same time the privilege of acting in close communion with another of those men given by God in his especial goodness, as a blessing to mankind—I mean James Madison, so lately one of our Vice Presidents. I am not given much to that idolatry which too often puts fetters on the mind, leading it to consecrate errors in opinion because advanced and sustained by men of exalted standing.—But surely I may be permitted to say, that the opinions of two such men concurring, bear strong evidence of truth. Their minds were of too substantial an order to indulge in a mere vision. Their judgments were too profound to have been misled by the deceptive lights of a mistaken philanthropy. While the horizon of the future was clouded so that my own limited vision could not penetrate it, they stood, as it were, on a lofty mountain's top, and a beautiful prospect was presented to their sight. They saw the first landing of the pilgrims on the desert shores of Africa—the busy and the thriving rose up before their sight—the hammer of the artizan sounded in their ears—the hum of industry floated on the breeze—songs of praise and thanksgiving came over the distant waves—the genius of civilization had penetrated the wilderness, overthrowing in its progress the idol and the altar, and rearing on their ruins temples to the true and only God. All this *they* saw, and all this *we* now see. For myself, after learning the successful landing of the first emigrants, and that they were speedily to be followed by others, all my doubts vanished.

The reality was before me. The seed was planted—spring-time came and it vegetated—harvest-time and the crop was abundant. But a few years since and no voice of civilization proceeded from Africa. Now thousands of civilized beings have made it their home, and the wilderness may be considered as reclaimed. The exhibits annually made to the public of the state and condition of the Colony, are calculated to relieve the mind of all doubt. The Colony is planted,—advances with rapid strides,—and Monrovia will be to Africa what Jamestown and Plymouth have been to America. Happily their success is equally beneficial to all the States. Nothing sectional enters into it. The same spirit actuates all; the same policy governs all. The free black man is found in Maine as well as in Louisiana. What then shall retard the onward march of this great cause? Heretofore it has looked for success to private individuals and to the state legislatures. My opinion is that it should still look to them. To appeal to Congress for aid, is to appeal to a body having no power to grant it—a body of restricted and limited powers, and fettered by the terms of its own creation. From that source it may get money, but it will lose friends, and friends are more valuable to it than money. I would not have it successful without the concurrence of the States. Our own State may be considered the pioneer in this great work. On this subject she stands proudly pre-eminent. She will doubtless do her duty. Policy and humanity go hand in hand in this great work; united in the accomplishment of the same object, they cannot fail to succeed. Philanthropy, when separated from policy, is the most dangerous agent in human affairs. It is no way distinguishable from fanaticism. It hears not, sees not, understands not. It is deaf, and hears not the admonitions of truth and wisdom. It is blind, and walks over prostrate victims, and amid the ashes of desolation, without perceiving that its feet are stained in blood, and that its garments are discolored. It understands not, until the voice of sorrow and lamentation, proceeding from the sepulchre of man's fondest hopes and brightest expectations, arouses it to consciousness. And is there not a spirit of that sort now at work in our own fair land? It is the antagonist of that which we cherish. It invades our hearths, assails our domestic circles, preaches up sedition and encourages insurrection. It would pull down the pillars of the constitution, and even now shakes them most terribly,—would violate the most sacred guarantees,—would attain its object by sundering bonds which bind and only have power to bind these States together:—the bonds of affection and brotherly love. It seeks to excite inextinguishable prejudices in the minds of one-half of our people against the other half. It acts in league with foreign missionaries, and gives open countenance to the people of another hemisphere to interfere in our domestic affairs. It is sectional, altogether sectional; in a word, it is the spirit of abolition. From this place I denounce it, and this society denounces it. The weapons which it uses are the weapons of slander and abuse:—not as to one sex or condition of existence only, but all—all are abused and slandered by it. It labors to induce the usurpation of a power by Government, which would be attended by the destruction of the Government itself, in the substitution (if a work so disastrous to the liberties of mankind could be effected) of a consolidated government—a mere majority machine—in place of the happy federal system under which we live. The opinion already prevails with many, that the government is a unit, and the people a unit! I care not from whence they derive sanction for this—but this I will say, that whether such sanction comes from the living or the dead—from men in power, or men out of power, it is false in theory and destructive in practice. Each State, as to all matters not ceded by compact, is as sovereign as before the adoption of the constitution. What right then have the people of one State to interfere with the domestic relations of any other State? what right to agitate in order to affect their neighbors? The reverend clergy, too, they whose doctrine should evermore be, peace on earth and good will to men, are lending themselves to this pernicious work. *They* seek to enlist woman—she who was placed upon the earth, as the rainbow in the heavens, as a sign that the tempest of the passions should subside. Woman

is made an instrument to expel us from the paradise of union in which we dwell. What will satisfy these ministers of a gospel which alone abounds in love? Do they wish to christianize the Heathen? to spread the light of the gospel over the benighted places of the earth through the instrumentality of this Society, that light may be brought to shine where no ray of the gospel sun has ever yet penetrated? Do they want a more extended theatre for their labors than they now enjoy? We present them one entire quarter of the earth. We invite them to go with us into the wilds of Africa—to sit down by the side of the black man—to teach him to raise his eyes from the earth on which they are bent—to look up to the heavens and to ascend "through nature unto nature's God." He works most inscrutably to the understandings of men; the negro is torn from Africa, a barbarian, ignorant and idolatrous;—he is restored civilized, enlightened, and a christian. The Colonization Society is the great African missionary Society. In my humble judgment it is worth more, twice told, than all foreign missionary societies combined. Already it has planted the cross among the heathen, and kindled the fires of civilization in the desert; and that cross will stand and that light be spread until a continent be redeemed. All this is done quietly and peaceably and with the acquiescence of society. Charity dictates and policy adopts—can any messenger of the Saviour—can any lover of his race, look upon this picture without delight? Will nothing content him which is not done in violence? Has he fallen in love with anarchy, that he woos her so assidiously? Are envy, malice and all uncharitableness become assistants in the ministrations of the altar? Is fraternal feeling and family peace become odious in his eyes? But I will dwell no longer on these things. Our course, gentlemen, lies plainly before us; we will steadily pursue it; we interfere with no relation in society. In what seek to do we are justified alike by the wisdom of the living and the dead, and success full, ample and entire, must crown the enterprize.

The annual report was then read by the Rev. C. W. Andrews, late agent of the Society, which on motion of G. A. Myers, Esq. was accepted and ordered to be printed.

General Bayly, of Accomac, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we regard the removal of the free people of color from the United States to Africa, with their own consent, as one of the most efficient means of securing their ultimate peace, happiness, and prosperity.

Gen. Bayly remarked: Just before I came to this meeting, Mr. President, I was requested to offer the above resolution and advocate its adoption. Notwithstanding, I was thus suddenly called upon, I did not hesitate to comply with the request; for the truth of the resolution was too apparent to require either eloquence or argument to sustain it.

The laws of all the slave holding states permit emancipation. It has ever been the policy of Virginia to allow the master to free the slave. But since 1806 her laws have required all slaves thereafter manumitted, to leave the Commonwealth. Though our laws require all freed slaves to leave the state, as a condition upon their emancipation, even philanthropy itself has not provided an asylum for them in the United States. What shall become of them? Stern, unyielding and just policy demands that they should not remain in Virginia. But even should she be disposed to relax the rigor of her laws, ought they to remain within her borders? Shall they be taken to the free states, even when their laws permit it? We are not the enemies of emancipation when it is voluntary on the part of the master and when it can be effected without injury to individuals and society. But when it has been legally commenced, we desire to see it consummated. This never can be done as long as the negro remains in America. He never can enjoy, here, the high prerogatives of a free man. He may cease to be the slave of a single individual, but he will continue to be the slave of the community, whose oppressions will be greater and whose protection will be less, than that of the individual master. I repeat: In America, the black man never can be free!—he never can have the high-born feelings of a freeman,—he must ever be a political and social slave. The shackles never can fall com-

pletely from about him, until he stands upon the shores of Africa.

If, therefore, Mr. President, the negro never can be free in America, and if freedom be necessary to happiness and prosperity, it seems to me, that all philanthropists should join to bear him to Africa.

It will be perceived that the end aimed at in the resolution, is not a mad or fanatical one, to be attained at the cost of the property and life of the slave-holder and the happiness and prosperity of society. The end is no visionary one to be arrived at by diabolical means. At the same time that it secures the ultimate happiness of the negro, it does not destroy, but promotes that of the white man. We are not pursuing a phantom. We are not seeking an imaginary blessing for the negro, under the hypocritical pretence of discharging a moral and religious duty, by means which will bring certain wo upon the white man. Were such our course, we should expect to be denounced by the wise and good—we should expect to be denounced by all such, as diabolical or mad!—We should expect to bring down upon ourselves the loathing of man and the vengeance of God, who has never pardoned evil, because even certain good hath come of it. What, then, must be the fate of him who does palpable and certain evil, that an ideal and improbable good may come of it?

It will be observed, Mr. President, that the resolution goes no farther than to declare that the happiness and prosperity of the free negro will be promoted by his removal to Africa. It might have been extended. It might, with truth, have declared that the removal of the free negro to Africa, would promote the peace, prosperity and happiness of the free negro and the white man—of the slave-holder and the slave. But, Sir, that view is not contained in the resolution, and I forbear to comment upon it. I will detain you no longer, Sir, for I am sure the resolution will meet with the approbation of all.

On motion of Alexander Rives, Esq., of Albemarle, it was

Resolved, That considering the principle of African Colonization as best responding to the demands of Southern patriotism and benevolence, and offering to the temperate wisdom of all parties, and every section, a common ground of resistance against the mischievous and reckless enterprises of abolition, we regard it as eminently entitled to the confidence and patronage of the people of Virginia.

After some farther eloquent remarks from Mr. Rives, he thus alludes to the restriction in the law of Virginia, of March 1833, confining its operation to people of color who were free at the time of its enactment:

The claims of this institution upon *private* generosity, have not been unheeded. We have many gratifying evidences of the cordial response, which a liberal and sagacious public, have, heretofore, made to our earnest claims upon their support. But the important, and practical question now arises whether the spirit of the people should be reflected by their representatives in this hall—whether the *nominal* appropriation, heretofore made by Virginia in aid of these objects, shall be continued, and rendered efficient, by the removal of the restrictions, which have so far defeated its expenditure. I am proud, Sir, to have occasion to bear testimony to you of the manifestations of popular solicitude in behalf of a renewed and unrestricted appropriation to these purposes, which are daily reaching the body of which I am a member.

Amid such cheering indications of public favor, and such inspiriting auguries of ultimate success, I feel, that I can add no stronger motives of encouragement to increased zeal, liberality and exertion, in the prosecution of our enterprise than are found in the ready promptings of our own hearts.

On motion of Sydney S. Baxter, Esq. it was

Resolved, That this Society has heard with great pleasure of the successful effort of the Legislature and citizens of Maryland to plant a colony in Africa, and that it be recommended to the Board of Managers to adopt such measures as in their judgment shall be best calculated to promote the establishment of a new colony, for the reception of emigrants from this State, as proposed at the last annual meeting.

On motion of Mr. Maxwell, of Norfolk, it was

Resolved, That the continued and increasing prosperity of our colonies in Liberia,—illustrating, as it does, the free and generous spirit of our Commonwealth, and displaying the pure and philanthropic genius of Christianity, in the fairest and brightest manner,—is truly gratifying to all our hearts.

Mr. Maxwell said that he had come here this evening, (honestly) without intending to address the meeting. Indeed he had resolved, as he thought, not to do so. But alas! sir, said he, as you know, the resolution of a gentleman not to speak, is very like that of a lady, (one of those rainbows, sir, that you told us about a while ago,) not to marry:—a resolution which, however *wisely* and firmly made, is very apt to melt away before the breath of the first agreeable tempter that presents himself before her. And even so it has been with me on this occasion; for I find, sir, that I cannot resist—indeed I cannot—the temptation to say *a single word* which has been addressed to me by a flattering friend, I mean our late worthy Agent, in the kind allusion which he has made to me in the report which he has read. For, he tells us in it—and it is really the first time that I have heard of it—that there has been a meeting in Liberia at which mention has been made of my name, in connexion with the remarks which I made before our society here, at our last annual meeting, in this hall, on moving the resolution to establish a new colony in that country, to be called New Virginia. Those reremarks, it seems, published from the press, and borne on the wings of some sea-bird, (some ship,) have found their way across the Atlantic—undrowned in its swelling surges—and have awakened echoes in the hearts of our freed-men there, who have sent us back their cheering voices, to awaken new echoes in our hearts again this evening. Yes, sir, and I must confess that I feel myself not a little flattered to hear that my said speech (such as it was) has been *encored* as it were, and spoken over again on that shore. I am sorry, indeed, that I do not know who the worthy gentlemen was who did me the honor to personate me on that occasion; but I trust that he was some good honest fellow,—and a true Virginian to-boot; and I hope also, sir, that he was duly qualified to play his part with at least as much grace as the original before you at this present time. But however that may be, I must say that I do feel truly gratified by this compliment, (which I know how to appreciate,) and I will add, sir, by your leave, that though I am not perhaps without some ambition, yet I shall never envy the honors which you, sir, and other gentlemen may acquire, from "the applause of listening Senates," or *admiring Houses of Representatives*, if I can be known, both here and in Liberia too, as the faithful friend and constant advocate of this noble and inspiring cause.

Called upon, then sir, as I am, in this way, and bound in duty, as I feel myself to be,—like a guest at a feast who has just been toasted—to make some acknowledgment for the compliment that has been paid me, I beg leave to give you a sentiment in the shape of a resolution, in these words: [here Mr. M read the resolution, and proceeded.] I shall not, however, by any means, attempt to enforce this resolution by many words; for I know, indeed, that I may safely trust it to speak for itself. Sir, we all feel at once that we love this generous cause in which we are engaged, not merely for its own sake, but still more for the honor which it reflects upon our State. For, it is to her counsel, in fact, as we choose to remember, that our enterprise owes its origin. And it is to her, too, mainly—or, at least, to emigrants from her domain, that Africa owes those new settlements which she rejoices to see established on her coast; and which we are happy to hear are growing and thriving as we could wish. And we must and do feel, sir, that "the continued and increasing prosperity of those colonies" must, more and more, "illustrate the free and generous spirit of our Commonwealth." For, it must serve to show to all the world, that our Virginia—the friend of Liberty—is always naturally disposed to favor any and every undertaking that can fairly promise to promote her cause—*with safety and advantage all concerned.* It will show at least that we—her sons and daughters—do not hold our freedmen here in their actual state, by choice, but from necessity; and that we are ready and willing to make our half-free people of

color (hardly that) all free, in the only manner in which we think it possible, under circumstances, that we can make them so, consistently with their real welfare, as well as our own. And it will show, too, that though we cannot suffer our bond-men to be liberated, or rather emancipated, here—that is to continue here—when we know and feel beforehand, from actual and ample experience, that it would not, and could not, be good for them—nor for us,—to have them mingled, or rather *confounded*, among us—yet we are ready and willing to forward them when fairly manumitted by their masters, to their own father-land—which is the proper place for them—and where they may be free indeed. Yes, sir, and we can rejoice with all our hearts, to hear from time to time, that they are going on, fairly and bravely, in their own way, copying our free institutions, and all our proceedings; and we can look indeed upon their amusing imitations of our actions, as parents look upon those of their little children before them—for we know, sir that those little children will, by-and-by be men—and worthy of their sires.

But, with these sentiments towards them, we must feel particularly pleased to hear, as we do, that satisfied and delighted as they are with their new land, they yet continue to cherish a grateful remembrance of their Old Virginia still. Sir, the report has told us with what joy they received the intelligence of our intention to found a new colony in Liberia, which should bear her honored name; and I am happy to be able to illustrate their sentiments on this point, a little more strongly, by a letter which I have received myself from one of them—a certain William Draper, formerly of our good town of Fredericksburg—a part of which I must beg leave to read to you, (in spite of its mention of my speech again, which I hope you will excuse me for giving along with the rest,) only to show the filial feeling—the true Virginia feeling, I may say—which beats in all their breasts. It is enclosed, you see, sir, in an envelope, (the true congressional style, I believe) and addressed to me. It is dated "Bassa Cove, August 17, 1837," and reads thus: "Sir, with much pleasure to me to write you this few lines, and am in hopes that you and the family are well. Sir, in reading one of the Colonization Herald of Pennsylvania Society, to my great joy I saw a piece from the Christian Intelligencer; the good people of my old state are about to settle a colony on the coast of Africa. Myself, I being a Virginian, born and raised in the town of Fredericksburg, when I saw that the good people of Virginia were about to plant a colony in this country, I leave with you and the friends of the cause to judge my feelings. True I have been in this country thirteen years, and returned on a visit in 1828. During my visit I had the pleasure of seeing you in Norfolk. Sir, we read your speech with much pleasure, and we have witnessed all that you have said concerning us and the emigrants from other states." Here he refers to the remark which I made in it, that it was said that the emigrants from other states were a little jealous of our colonists from Virginia—accusing them, it seems, of being rather too fond of having all things their own way, (only of course, to have them exactly right;) and you shall see, sir, how he confirms my words. "*A number of them do not like us; but they can't help themselves. We strive to do that that is right, and no more.* We have been the founders of almost all the different settlements, and there is some of us would leave property if we could do no otherways, and do all that we can for New Virginia. You may judge that there is some of us that would not be satisfied in no other colony while ever there was one called New Virginia." Such, sir, are the sentiments—worthy of a true son of Virginia—which beat in the bosom of that man; and not in his only, but, I am persuaded, in the bosoms of all the colonists who have gone out along with him from our state. And now, sir, ought they not to endear those colonies still more to us, and encourage us to continue our care to them; and prompt us, more particularly, to execute the plan which we have conceived, of planting a New Virginia in Liberia, to extend and perpetuate the glory of the Old, in that country, and throughout the world, to the end of time.

But, sir, we may also rejoice in the prosperity of these colonies—and ought to do so still more—as it serves to "display the pure

and philanthropic genius of Christianity, in the fairest and brightest manner"—to the eyes of all mankind. Sir, if it was our Virginia that planted these colonies, it was Christianity, let me tell you, that whispered in her ear, and put it in her heart to do it. It was Christianity, in fact, that planted our old Virginia herself, in a former age; and it is the same benignant Power that has planted Liberia—and that shall plant New Virginia too—in our day—for a blessing to the whole human race. It is *she*, indeed, sir, and not *woman*, (lovely as she is, and dear to all our hearts,) it is Christianity, sir, that is the rainbow of the world;—uniting heaven and earth, and blending them both brightly and beautifully together, in a sacred and eternal covenant of peace and love. Aye, sir, and you may see that rainbow now—spanning the ocean that swathes our shore—and reconciling two continents that were some time strange and hostile to each other, but are now consenting and conspiring in this common cause. Yes, sir, America, (and our Virginia foremost,) has sent the gospel to Africa—by the hands of her own sons—by men of her own race;—a noble compensation for all the wrongs which she has done her—and Africa has received the grace, and is satisfied. So the cross has indeed been planted on her shore, (beaming more brightly than the sun;) and it shall be carried triumphantly into the interior—and through all her bounds—by her proper missionaries—to redeem and regenerate the land. Yes, sir, and Christianity and Civilization shall walk together through all the length and breadth of her dominions—diffusing their blessings around them—winning the poor barbarians from their wild pursuits and pastimes, to all the happy engagements, and sweet civilities of polished life—and "turning them from their dumb idols to the living God;—and in the language of sacred scripture, "the wilderness and the solitary places shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

The Hon. Henry A. Wise being present, was called out by the audience and addressed the meeting as follows:

Mr. President, I find myself placed in a very embarrassing situation. I have just gotten out of the cars from the City of Washington. Upon arriving here, on a flying visit with a friend to this city, I was for the first time informed that this meeting was to be held here to-night; and being informed that you were to preside, I was tempted to attend, with the hope of hearing what we have all listened to with so much pleasure, an address from you, sir, without the least expectation that I should be called on to make an address myself. And, sir, I, a perfect stranger here, must be pardoned if I am confounded by the surprise of being thus called on so suddenly to address an enlightened audience like this, here assembled, without the least note of preparation, either of thought or word, on a subject so great and imposing as that of this occasion.

But, sir, my embarrassment does not proceed alone from the want of preparation to meet the subject and the occasion. I feel myself more embarrassed by the peculiar attitude which I have for several years past assumed towards the Colonization Society. At the outset of my career in life, sir, I left this my mother State, and like many of her sons, emigrated to the land of the West. There, in the State of Tennessee, I was appointed the secretary of a State Colonization Society, and I became the zealous and active friend and advocate of the great original principles of the design to secure and fortify the institution of slavery itself by colonizing the free people of color, particularly those of the slave-holding States, on the shores of Africa. After some years absence I returned to this good old Commonwealth, and continued the friend of colonization until the first session after I was elected a member of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

During the session of 1833—'34, a meeting of the parent society was held at Washington, at which there were sentiments openly avowed and proceedings attempted which alarmed many of the best and oldest friends of the cause with apprehensions as to its subsequent effects and tendencies, and which caused myself, among others, to look on it then and since with a jealous eye. You, no doubt, sir, remember the meeting to which I allude. It was the meeting at which the notorious Gerret Smith daringly insisted that the ultimate object of the Colonization So-

ciety should be *to abolish slavery;* that the north should have the control of the society, because its patrons from that quarter had subscribed most of its funds; forgetting, by the by, that a single deed or will of voluntary emancipation in the south gave tens of thousands in *property*, where the most zealous northern philanthropists subscribed tens in *dollars and cents;* it was there he openly avowed that the time had then come when the institution should begin to move directly towards the end he aimed at; and, sir, it was then and there that the Rev. Mr. Breckenridge denounced old Virginia as like Nebuchadnezzar's image—part iron or brass and part clay, and ready to be broken in pieces! That meeting, I say, alarmed me, sir, among others of the warm friends of this cause, and has made me stand aloof at least for the last four years, from an active co-operation in its great work. Up to the present moment, indeed, I have been watching the tendencies of the society, to see whether it would be safe for us of the south to participate in its operations. I feared that the sentiments and influences of the Gerret Smith party would pervert the society from its original purposes and ends; and, above all, I feared that colonization would be made to sow a seed of disunion in the slave-holding States, at a time when, soon after that meeting, the footsteps of abolition across the Potomac were traced in blood.

The scenes of the summer of 1835, when the flaming torches of abolition were hurled in our midst, kindling all the combustibles of civil disorder,—threatening to burn down our very post-offices and to consume the reign of law,—founding the bloody and summary Lynch code on the cinders of its fires, will not soon be forgotten in the south. And, sir, it was, as you well know, at the session of Congress immediately succeeding these awful scenes, that it was thought the time had come for the south to act in Congress and, the time being auspicious, as I imagined, to obtain a recognition of our guarantees from the friends of a northern candidate for the Presidency, I moved certain resolutions in the House, in defence of the institutions of the slave-holding States. But, notwithstanding the favorable moment and all its immense aids of ambition and avarice for offices and their honors and emolument s another so favorable, I fear, will never again occur. I regret to say, without reproaches now to any, that the south was utterly unsuccessful, and defeated in obtaining from Congress any declaratory pledges, whatever, for the securit of its rights and the protection of its peace. The south itself was disunited, torn, divided and distracted. It was then demonstrated that *it was utterly impossible to unite a majority in Congress on any ground upon which the slave-holding States could safely stand.* And, sir, I here proclaim in the capitol of this slave-holding State—to all whom it may concern—that NOW the same truth prevails—*the slave-holder cannot rely upon any position of defence against abolition, upon which a majority of the Senators and Representatives of the whole people of the U. States can be brought to unite!* This truth is solemnly confirmed by the discussion and proceedings now at this moment agitating the Senate chamber of the national capitol, and now shaking the very pillars of the Constitution and the Union. Take it home with you—all of you—and reflect upon it seriously and gravely.

Where then is our safety? In what does our security consist?—Sir, in one thing alone. But one principle of action will save us and ours: *union among ourselves!—the union of the whole South!* The south must stand as *one man*—firmly, fixed, united—presenting an undivided front—an impenetrable phalanx—uttering no threats—throwing back no denunciations—the time of debating and murmuring is past—but *ready to act;* and, though a *minority*, yet a minority *united* in solid and solemn purpose, can and will deter any majority which may ever threaten to attack their peace, their property, their constitutional rights, and their lives! They should unite as brethren, literally of the same faith and the same fathers, on this vital question—as men, women and children, involved in one and the same common danger, and bound to defend the same common honor, interests and rights. Away, then, with all pitiful, petty party divisions, at this crisis of our fate!—The man or politician who now would seize on this fatal topic for personal, political or party ends, should be "anathema maranatha!" Let the slave-holding States but be

united on this question, so infinitely above all party strife, and they have nothing to fear against all the world combined.

Sir, these were the reasons—the fear that the abolition party in the parent society might succeed in perverting colonization from its original design, coupled with the strongest desire and conviction that nothing should be permitted to divide the south—which have caused me for a time to withdraw my humble countenance and support from this cause. I am even now somewhat *skittish*, I confess, but Gerret Smith, who showed the cloven foot but partially in 1833—'34, has since been constrained to exhibit himself in his true and glaring colors of an abolitionist—his party has signally failed to swerve the Colonization Society from its first principles—they have separated themselves from it and joined to their own idols—they have openly declared war against colonization, and their hostility now tends to drive the Colonization Society, if it ever began to desert them, back to its original principles and plans of operation, and to keep it pressed close to those walls of safety. This has almost, if not altogether, allayed my fears and revived my hopes concerning the great cause. The line of demarcation is now too strongly drawn, I hope, between colonization and abolition ever to be crossed. Their principles are diametrically opposed to each other, and their warfare will tend to press each to occupy its appropriate ground and position. The Colonization Society must now maintain that great original principle upon which it was founded:—"*Friendship to the* SLAVEHOLDER." Never let it be forgotten or departed from. It stands in direct contrast to that upon which, according to their own pretensions, and the construction of charity, the abolitionists have founded their society—"*Philanthropy to the* SLAVE!"

It is very obvious, sir, that these two principles, as interpreted by the respective societies, and applied to their actual operations, tend to very different and opposite results. The abolition society denounces slavery as a *sin;* summons the *abstract* principles of right and justice, and an imaginary law of Heaven, to destroy the most holy obligations of political right and justice, founded upon constitutional compact among men; appeals to prejudices and passions the most dangerous, because most fanatical, to release a portion of mankind from an alleged cruel and oppressive bondage; inflames and agitates the public mind, by threatening to demolish all established social relations; arouses a religious zeal in a crusade against the peace and order and union of a nation; teaches and preaches insurrection to the slave; encourages Lynch-law, and hallows the victims of its penalties with the glory of martyrdom; calumniates and curses the slaveholder; hurls its incendiarism against his life: attacks and attempts to render unsafe the institution of slavery, and thereby tightens the fetters of the slave and makes his chains more galling; opposes the colonization of the free-man of color in a land where the black man may be the fellow of man, and advances the horrible amalgamation of him, here in the land of his degradation, with those to whom his mere association is contamination the most abhorrent and revolting! The Colonization Society sacredly regards slavery as a civil institution of the country, which, upon the principle of the lesser yielding to the greater good, cannot be attacked by the law of humanity, and must necessarily be tolerated and sustained from motives and reasons of policy; defends all the eternal and immutable principles of right, and religiously promotes the obvious decrees of Heaven, whilst it faithfully obeys the paramount laws of the State; appeals to the reason and enlightened consciences of men, and to that calm and peaceful religion which ever righteously interposes to ameliorate the various conditions of *all* men, and which wisely *wins* the powerful to assist the weak—the unbound, the bound; hushes the din of discord, and by a charm preserves our peace by reconciling our moral duties with our social and political rights and interests; invokes the love of union; teaches and preaches obedience to servants; supports the majesty of the laws by respecting public sentiment, and classes all the disturbers of the public peace together, inspires the slaveholder with confidence, and addresses itself alone to his affections; removes the enemies of his peace and safety; guards and renders safe the title of his property and its enjoy-

ment, and thereby obtains for the slave the indulgences which the slackened cord of confidence yields without cause or fear; incidentally facilitates voluntary emancipation, by sloughing off the free colored population always in the way of freedom to the slave; strengthens and upholds the friends of the slave-holder where he needs friends most, where there are no ties and associations of slavery to plead for the institution, and where in the north it is a sword to pierce abolition; and, above all these special benefits, its great aim is that which makes the grandeur of this cause rise to sublimity—*to make light shine out of darkness, to colonize a nation of freemen in their father-land out of our kitchens of slaves!*

Yes, Sir, the existence and operation of *abolition* but add to the special benefits of colonization. It not only renders the institution of slavery secure at home among ourselves, but it grants the only ground on which our friends can stand in the non-slaveholding states among our enemies who are daily multiplying in numbers and increasing in power. But, sir, I repeat that the special benefits of this cause to this nation are nothing compared with its general benefits to all mankind, to all posterity, to Africa, to the world. In contemplating the vast, ultimate design and effects of this great scheme of lighting up a whole land now shrouded in the blackness of darkness, I have often been struck with a thought which justifies slavery itself in the abstract, and which has made me wonder and adore a gracious Special Providence. Aye, sir, a Special Providence—bad a man as some may have been taught to believe me to be—I, Sir, even *I* do firmly, if not faithfully, intellectually, if not religiously, believe in a Great and Good Overruling Special Providence. And, Sir, I as firmly believe that *slavery on this continent is the gift of Heaven to Africa.* Is it unworthy of the Divine purpose or impious to suppose that it was by God intended to be the sun of the illumination of that land of night?—Cannot one well see the hand of the Everlasting Almighty—who worketh not in a day or generation—in making *one generation serve for another* of the same people?—Is there aught *religiously* wrong in making an *idolatrous pagan sire work out the civilization and christianity of a son?* What mortal can say that the *slavery of the sire* was not Divinely intended to be the *consideration*—and is it any thing more than a fair equivalent—for the arts of life and the lights of truth *to his posterity?*—Africa gave to Virginia *a savage* and *a slave*, Virginia gives back to Africa *a citizen* and *a Christian!* Against which does the balance lie? If this was not the divine will, let those who object tell me, how came *African* slavery here? Sir, it is a mystery if not thus explained. When our fathers landed on the shores of my venerable district, did they find a population fair as the forests of the land? Who roamed those forests? Were *they* too not savages, ignorant, rude, barbarous and uncivilized as the negro of Guinea's coast? Were *they* not as fit for *slavery?* Did not the war of massacre, of tomahawk and scalping knife give the fairest pretext for slavery by the right of capture and subjugation? Boast as we may of the royal race of aborigines who lorded it over this domain—of the kingly Powhatan, the peerless Pocahontas—the common Indians of North America were just as fit for slavery, and ready here at hand, as the savages of Africa's desert strands—they were enslaved by the Yankees. Why, then, were slaves brought 3,000 miles across the ocean, leaving our neighbouring tribes of savages untouched by yoke or chain? Why but to return civilization for slavery? Who so fit to be the pioneer of civilization in Africa as the *black man?* Its light expires, has always gone out in the hand of the white man. And what will the civilization of Africa not do in the end for mankind—for the world, its arts, its science, its commerce, its peace and happiness, and for freedom? What new fields will it not explore? The subject is vast and unbounded! I say then, Sir, send forth your missionaries with light and love to the land of night, until that "dry nurse of lions" shall become the nursery of arts, and science, and civilization, and law, and order, and religion!

Sir, I did not mean to say more than to apologize for not making a speech, and to thank, cordially thank, this meeting for its flattering notice and kind attention.*

The speeches delivered at this meeting exhibited a power and variety of eloquence which has been seldom witnessed in the capitol of the Old Dominion. The sentiments advocated by the speakers were responded to with great enthusiasm on the part of the audience.

* In a letter to the Secretary of the meeting, relative to the foregoing speech, Mr. Wise says: "The speech which I made at Richmond was intended to express at the time only *my own peculiar views* of Colonization, and advance the arguments and reasons which recommended the cause to *me*."

CHAPTER XIV.

House of Delegates; Rev. Messrs. Andrews and Balch; Annual Meeting of 1839; *Addresses of John Tyler, Wm. Smith of Culpeper, B. Smith of Kanawha, and T. Walker Gilmer of Albemarle; Elliott Cresson. W. C. Rives' Speech; Mr. F. Knight's agency; Sermon of Rev. James Craik;—Tyler, Wise and Rives delegates to Annual Meeting of* 1845. *Gov. McDowell's Address and election as President; Extract from Repository; Reorganization of Colonization Society of Virginia in* 1849;—*Correspondence of Messrs. Upshur and Fox; Robert B. Bolling elected President; Mr. Bailey's Memorial; Mr. Slaughter's Address; Position of Society on Slavery;—Mr. Dorman's Bill, &c.*

Numerous petitions were presented to the General Assembly at each session for an amendment of the act of 1833, so as to make it available for the purposes of the Society. Upon two occasions, as we have seen, the House of Delegates passed bills in conformity with these petitions, but for some reason they were not acted upon by the Senate. Notwithstanding the inefficacy of this act of Assembly from which so much was anticipated, the cause still prospered in Virginia under the energetic agency of the Rev. C. W. Andrews, and of the Rev. Thomas Balch, who succeeded him. The leading politicians of both parties appeared as its advocates in the Capitol at Richmond, and represented it in the general meeting at Washington.

The next annual meeting was held in the Capitol at Richmond, on the 22nd January, 1839. The Hall of the House of Delegates was crowded to overflowing, so that many persons could not make their way into the room. The Honorable John Tyler, President of the Society took the chair, and J. C. Crane acted as Secretary. The annual report was read by the Rev. T. B. Balch. William Smith of Culpeper offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the present encouraging and prosperous condition of Liberia is a matter of just congratulation to all the friends of this great cause.

B. H. Smith of Kanawha offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the experience of the past year has rendered more firm the conviction that the Colonization scheme is worthy of the regard of the patriot, the philanthropist and the christian.

John T. Anderson of Botetourt offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That while much has been done and much more will be accomplished by voluntary donations, through the channels of private benevolence, yet the magnitude and importance of our object entitle it to the liberal patronage of the Legislature of this State.

Thomas Walker Gilmer, Speaker of the House of Delegates, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the mild and redeeming spirit of Colonization is opposed to, and presents a striking contrast with the wild fanaticism of those who by the desecration of the name of philanthropy, would subvert our laws and sacrifice our happy institutions on the altar of delusion.

The gentlemen severally offering these resolutions, sustained them in addresses worthy, (says a cotemporary,) of the "Old Dominion," and the auditory responded by frequent bursts of applause, indicating a deep interest in the subject.

The Rev. Mr. Balch made an appeal to the

liberality of the meeting for a pecuniary contribution. The President then addressed the meeting in answer to a call from all parts of the House. The Richmond Whig of the next day, said that the address of the President was characteristic for its fervid and flowing eloquence; and his allusions to the memory of two of Virginia's distinguished sons as patrons and devoted friends of Colonization, Madison and Marshall, as well as his strongly felt, and expressed interest in the cause, excited deep emotion.

In June 1840, Mr. Elliott Cresson of Philadelphia, a warm, untiring and able friend of African Colonization, being on a visit to the City of Richmond, was invited by the Board of Managers to deliver an address upon the subject. Accordingly a meeting was called in the Presbyterian church on Shockoe Hill to hear Mr. Cresson. We presume that this meeting took place, although we have no note of its proceedings.

In June 1842, a convention of the friends of African Colonization in the United States was held in the city of Washington for the purpose of concerting measures for giving an impetus to the cause as a great national interest. Able speeches were delivered by Mr. Gurley, Senator Morehead of Kentucky, Francis Key and Wm. C. Rives of Virginia. Mr. Rives, said a cotemporary who heard him, addressed the Convention in a speech replete with able argument, and eloquence of an order which high sentiments of Patriotism only could inspire. We deeply regret our inability to present this speech to the public. Mr. Rives alluded to the transient nature of many of the political strifes of the day, when compared with the permanent beneficence and glory of a scheme adapted to raise the character and enlighten the prospects of a race of men, and bring a whole continent from barbarism to civilization and christianity. He spoke of the impossibility of elevating the colored race in the United States; the obstacles being too numerous and fixed, to be overcome by any human power. He discussed at some length the doctrine of De Toqueville, that the social union of two races so distinct as the white and colored was not to be expected. He believed Colonization to be a "great and fruitful idea," and that in time its benefits would be spread throughout vast districts of Africa, &c. He spoke of the slave-trade, and urged with great force the duty of our country to do its part to suppress it, by affording countenance to our African settlements, and maintaining a squadron on the coast, &c. He was more deeply than ever impressed with the vast utility of the scheme, and that it merited the support and favor of the States and of the Nation, &c.

The speech was worthy of the great reputation of the very able Senator, and excited warm and universal applause.

In May 1843, Mr. Franklin Knight, an agent of the American Society, laid before the Board of Managers of the Virginia Society a proposition of the American Society to raise $20,000 to purchase the territory intervening between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, on the Coast of Africa. The Board cordially approved of the plan and resolved to hold a meeting in the city of Richmond to aid in its advancement. Messrs. Crane and James, and the Rev. Mr. Norwood were appointed a committee to coöperate with the Rev. Mr. Knight in furthering his views.

In July of this year, the Rev. James Craik of Charleston, Kenawha County, Virginia, preached an able sermon to St. John's congregation of which he was Rector. At the request of his vestry, the sermon was published in the African Repository, whose Editor in introducing it to his readers, expresses his gratification in hearing that "public opinion in Virginia and the South is becoming more decidedly and earnestly directed to this great question of elevated patriotism and benevolence."

The Honorable John Tyler, President, the Honorable Wm. C. Rives and Henry A. Wise, Vice-Presidents, were appointed to represent the Virginia Society at the Anniversary of the American Colonization Society, in Washington, on the 16th of January, 1844.

We may here appropriately introduce an interesting correspondence between the British Minister at Washington and Judge Upshur then Secretary of State. Judge Upshur

was an eminent Virginian Statesman and an officer and ardent friend of the Society.

MR. FOX TO MR. UPSHER.

Washington, Aug. 9, 1843.

SIR: I had recently the honor to state to you, verbally, that her Majesty's Government have, for some time past, been desirous of ascertaining, authentically, the name and extent of the connexion subsisting between the American colony of Liberia on the coast of Africa, and the Government of the United States.

Certain differences which have arisen, and which, I believe, are still pending, between British subjects trading with Africa on the one hand, and the authorities of Liberia on the other, render it very necessary, in order to avert for the future, serious trouble and contention in that quarter, that her Majesty's Government should be accurately informed what degree of official patronage and protection, if any, the United States Government extend to the colony of Liberia; how far, if at all, the United States Government recognize the colony of Liberia as a national establishment; and, consequently, how far, if at all, the United States Government hold themselves responsible towards foreign countries for the acts of the authorities of Liberia.

It is very desirable, if the United Government recognize and protect the colony of Liberia, that her Majesty's Government should be authentically informed what are considered to be the territorial limits of the colony; and also by what title the amount of territory so claimed has been acquired. For it appears that, (during the last year, in particular,) the authorities of Liberia have shown a disposition to enlarge very considerably the limits of their territory; assuming, to all appearance quite unjustifiably, the right of monopolizing the trade with the native inhabitants along a considerable line of coast, where the trade had hitherto been free; and thus injuriously interfering with the commercial interests and pursuits of British subjects in that quarter.

It is not for a moment supposed that the United States Government would, either directly or indirectly, sanction such proceedings; but, in case of its becoming necessary to stop the further progress of such proceedings and such pretensions, it is very desirable, in order, as before mentioned, to avert causes of future dispute and contention, that her Majesty's Government should be informed whether the authorities of Liberia are themselves alone responsible on the spot for their public acts; or whether, if they are under the protection and control of the United States Government, it is to that Government that application must be made when the occasions above alluded to may require it.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurance of my distinguised consideration.

H. S. FOX.

HON. ABEL P. UPSHUR, &c., &c.

MR. UPSHUR TO MR. FOX.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, Sept. 25, 1843.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th of August last, informing me that her Majesty's Government have for some time past, been desirous of ascertaining authentically the nature and extent of the connexion subsisting between the American colony of Liberia, on the Coast of Africa, and the Government of the United States, and requesting me to give you the desired information.

The colony, or settlement, of Liberia was established by a voluntary association of American citizens, under the title of the American Colonization Society. Its objects were, to introduce christianity and promote civilization in Africa; to relieve the slave-holding States from the inconvenience of an increase of free blacks among them; to improve the condition and elevate the character of those blacks themselves, and to present to the slave-holder an inducement to emancipate his slaves, by offering to them an asylum in the country of their ancestors, in which they would enjoy political and social equality. It was not, however, established under the authority of our Government, nor has it been recognized as subject to our laws and jurisdiction.

It is believed that the society has confined itself strictly to the professed objects of its association. As an individual enterprise, it has no precedent in the history of the world. The motives which led to it were not those

of trade, nor of conquest; the individuals concerned in it proposed themselves no personal advantage nor benefit whatever. Their motives were purely philanthropic, and their objects strictly disinterested. In spite of the unexampled difficulties with which they have had to contend, they have by patience and perseverance, succeeded in placing their colony upon a safe and prosperous footing. It is just beginning to exert, in a sensible degree, its beneficient influences upon the destinies of the African race; and promises, if it be duly sustained, to do much for the regeneration of that quarter of the globe. Hence it has received, as it richly deserves, the respect and sympathy of the whole civilized world. To the United States it is an object of peculiar interest. It was established by our people, and has gone on under the countenance and good offices of our Government. It is identified with the success of a great object, which has enlisted the feelings, and called into action the enlarged benevolence, of a large proportion of our people. It is natural, therefore, that we should regard it with greater sympathy and solicitude than would attach to it under other circumstances.

This society was first projected in the year 1816. In 1831 it possessed itself of a territory upon the continent of Africa, by fair purchase of the owners of the soil. For several years it was compelled to defend itself by arms, and unaided, against the native tribes; and succeeded in sustaining itself only at a melancholy sacrifice of comfort, and a lamentable loss of human lives. No nation has ever complained that it his acquired territory in Africa; but, on the contrary, for twenty-two years it has been allowed, with the full knowledge of *all* nations, to enlarge its borders from time to time, as its safety or its necessities required. It has been regarded as a purely benevolent enterprise, and, with a view to its success, has been tacitly permitted to exercise all the powers of an independent community. It is believed that this license has never been abused, and that the colony has advanced no claims which ought not to be allowed to an infant settlement just struggling into a healthy existence. Its objects and motives entitle it to the respect of the stronger powers, and its very weakness gives it irresistible claims to their forbearance. Indeed it may justly appeal to the kindness and support of all the principal nations of the world, since it has already afforded and still continues to afford, the most important aid in carrying out a favorite measure of their policy.

It is not perceived that any nation can have just reason to complain that this settlement does not confine itself to the limits of its original territory. Its very existence requires that it should extend those limits. Heretofore, this has never been done by arms, so far as I am informed, but always by fair purchase from the natives. In like manner, their treaties with the native princes, whether of trade or otherwise, ought to be respected. It is quite certain that their influence in civilizing and christianizing Africa, in suppressing the slave-trade, and in ameliorating the condition of African slaves, would be worth very little, if they should be restrained at this time in any one of these particulars. Full justice, it is hoped, may be done to England, without denying to Liberia powers so necessary to the safety, the prosperity, and the utility of that settlement as a philanthropic establishment.

This Government does not, of course, undertake to settle and adjust differences which have arisen between British subjects and the authorities of Liberia. Those authorities are responsible for their own acts; and they certainly would not expect the support or countenance of this Government in any act of injustice towards individuals or nations. But as they are themselves nearly powerless, they must rely, for the protection of their own rights, on the justice and sympathy of other powers.

Although no apprehension is entertained that the British Government meditates any wrong to this interesting settlement, yet the occasion is deemed a fit one for making known, beyond a simple answer to your enquiries, in what light it is regarded by the people of the United States. It is due to her Majesty's Government that I should inform you that this Government regards it as occupying a peculiar position, and as possessing peculiar claims to the friendly consideration of all christian powers; that this Government will be, at all times, prepared

to interpose its good offices to prevent any incroachment by the colony upon any just right of any nation, and that it would be very unwilling to see it despoiled of its territory rightfully acquired, or improperly restrained in the exercise of its necessary rights and powers as an independent settlement.

I pray you to accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

A. P. UPSHUR.

HENRY S. FOX, Esq., &c., &c.

On Saturday evening, the 11th of January, 1845, the Annual meeting of the Colonization Society of Virginia, was held in the Hall of the House of Delegates. On motion of Mr. Maxwell, Governor McDowell was called to the chair, and on taking the chair, Governor McDowell addressed the meeting in his earnest and impressive style, setting forth ably and eloquently the importance of this subject to the United States in general, and to the South in particular, and thence deducing the duty of every American citizen and especially of every Southern man to aid in its wise and vigorous prosecution. Governor McDowell was then unanimously elected President of the Society.

For the next four years the Colonization Society of Virginia seems to have suspended its operations. This did not proceed from a want of interest in the subject, but from the difficulty of providing competent agents.—The fuel was ready and there was only wanting some warm heart to kindle the fire. Indeed ever since the Rev. Messrs. Andrews and Balch, the first Virginians who had acted for the Society, it had been in a state of suspended animation and was only aroused to action by the visitation of some member of the Society at Washington, and then soon relapsed into its slumber again. This view of ours is confirmed by the following passage in the Report of the American Society, in January 1846.

" In Virginia there is much interest in the cause, but there have been but few efforts made to turn it to account. We have not been able to secure for that State *any Agent of qualifications suitable to the emergencies in the case.* Whenever efforts have been made to raise funds, they have been successful in an encouraging degree. Most of the funds which we have received from Virginia, have been raised by ministers of the gospel in the ordinary routine of their parochial operations."

On the 13th of February, 1849, a meeting was held in the Capitol, in the City of Richmond, for the purpose of reorganizing the Colonization Society of Virginia. Mr. Wm. H. Macfarland was called to the chair. He explained the object of the meeting and urged the claims of the Society to the cordial support of the public.

Mr. Baxter offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That it is eminently expedient and desirable to revive and reorganize the Virginia Colonization Society ; and to furnish it immediately with all the means which may enable it to prosecute its important and interesting object with new and increased energy, constancy and effect.

This resolution was supported by addresses from Bishop Johns and Messrs. Maxwell, Baxter, Reeve, James and the Rev. Mr. Tinsley, and unanimously adopted.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society.

President.—Robert B. Bolling of Petersburg.

Vice-Presidents.—W. H. Macfarland, Jno. Rutherfoord, R. G. Scott, James C. Bruce, and Messrs. R. H. Cunningham, Maxwell, Blackford, &c.

Corresponding Secretary.—P. V. Daniel.

Recording Secretary.—B. B. Minor.

Managers.—N. Mills, Samuel Reeve, J. O. Steger, T. H. Ellis, S. Palmer, M. Gretter, F. James, R. Whitfield, Egbert Watson, and Thomas Samson.

On the 23d of February, 1849, a letter was received from Mr. Bolling of Petersburg, expressing his hearty interest in the Society, and regretting that his health and numerous engagements, constrained him to decline the office of President. Governor Floyd was then unanimously elected to fill the vacancy. The Rev. W. M. Atkinson was appointed general agent. A committee consisting of Messrs. Ellis, Crane and James, was appointed to obtain from the Legislature an act of incorporation and legislative aid to the So-

ciety. The Society at this time sustained a serious loss in the death of William Williams, its Treasurer. Thomas H. Ellis was chosen to fill his place.

The Rev. Mr. McLain, General Agent of the American Colonization Society, appeared before the Board of Managers of the Virginia Society, and stated that the government of the United States contemplated entering into a commercial treaty with Liberia, in which treaty the independence of Liberia would be recognized; that Mr. Gurley had gone to Liberia by appointment of the government, with a view of obtaining accurate intelligence of its condition and resources. He also said that the Liberians knowing and respecting the prejudices of Americans, did not propose to send a colored representative to this country, but had designated him (Mr. McLain) to represent their interests; that Great Britain had acknowledged the independence of Liberia; sent President Roberts home in a National vessel, and presented him with an armed frigate—that the commerce of Liberia was rapidly increasing and was capable of indefinite expansion, and that favorable terms might be obtained by us if the opportunity was not permitted to pass. He added that the President of the United States was desirous of learning the state of public opinion in all parts of the country upon the question. He then suggested that the Virginia Board should express its sentiments upon the policy of recognition. After an interchange of opinion by the Managers, it was resolved, on motion of Robert G. Scott, that in the opinion of this Board it was expedient to recognize the independence of Liberia, by entering into a commercial treaty with her. The Secretary was instructed to prepare a memorial to the Government of the United States, expressing this opinion, which if approved by the President of the Society, should be properly authenticated and transmitted to Washington.

The next Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the 1st Presbyterian Church in Richmond. The President of the Society took the chair, and the meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. T. V. Moore. R. G. Scott then presented letters from the Hon. Henry Clay, R. W. Thompson, and J. R. Underwood, regretting that they could not accept invitations to address the meeting.

Mr. Clay said, "continuing to feel the liveliest interest in t e Colonization of the free people of color; having all my original impressions in favor of the scheme, strengthened and confirmed by successful experience, and now entertaining no doubt of its entire practicability and of its being susceptible of an expansion so as to colonize in a reasonable time all the colored people now free, and such as may be emancipated, I should be most happy to assist in the endeavor to give a new and more vigorous impulse to the Virginia Society. On other accounts it would give me much personal gratification to revisit the Capitol of my native State. I regret that my engagements will not allow me to leave the city at this time.

I am, with high respect,
Your ob't servant,
HENRY CLAY.

Messrs. R. G. Scott, B. B. Minor, &c.

Mr. R. G. Scott then introduced to the Society Mr. T. H. B. Latrobe, President of the Colonization Society of Maryland, who made an able and instructive speech. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. McLain, who by a few pointed and practical remarks heightened the impression already made in favor of African Colonization.

The Rev. P. Slaughter, (who had been just elected General Agent of the Society,) and R. G. Scott were appointed delegates to the Annual meeting of the American Colonization Society. Mr. R. G. Scott was one of the orators of the latter Society, and illustrated his long devotion to the cause by an able, patriotic and impassioned speech.

At a meeting of the Board on the 30th of January, 1850, the Rev. P. Slaughter made a brief report of the proceedings of the American Society, and suggested that it was necessary to have an understanding as to the spheres of action of the two Societies, and also that this Board should make an explicit declaration of the principles and views of the Colonization Society of Virginia. Accordingly Messrs. Scott, Caskie and Reeve were appointed a committee in coöperation with Mr. Slaughter, to prepare an exposition of our plans and policy. The result of their counsels was the following declaration, which was approved by the Board and pub-

lished as an official document of the Society.

"Whereas in the present excited state of the public mind upon the subject of slavery, the people of the South look with anxious jealousy upon every movement which has or is supposed to have a direct or indirect effect upon that institution; and believing that the people of Virginia will and ought to insist upon having a distinct and unequivocal exposition of the views and purposes of every man and association of men, who propose action in reference to the colored population of the State—we, the President and Managers of the Colonization Society of Virginia, deem it our duty to make a brief and candid exposition of the principles, objects and policy of the Society, and do for that purpose resolve that we adhere with unshaken fidelity to that article in the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, which declares it to be the single purpose of that Society to Colonize on the Coast of Africa the free black population of the United States, with their own consent.

Resolved, That we believe that the American Colonization Society has adhered to this in the past, and will continue to do so for the future; and we pledge ourselves to watch its operations with sleepless vigilance and give warning of the least and first departure from its organic law, as a breach of faith, and a signal of our immediate withdrawal from all coöperation with it.

Resolved, That this Society purposes to devote its funds to the removal of the free colored population of this State, and will apply all the funds that may be contributed to it to this object, except such as may be specially appropriated by the donor to other objects.

Resolved, That the Managers having chosen the Rev. P. Slaughter to represent their views and policy in this State, do respectfully request that all contributions to this cause in this State, may be paid to him, that they may be by him transmitted to the Treasurer of this Society." JOHN B. FLOYD,

President.

B. B. Minor, *Secretary.*

The Rev. R. W. Bailey, who had been laboring diligently in the Valley of Virginia, as agent of the American Colonization Society, prepared an able memorial to the General Assembly at the session of 1849-50, proving and illustrating with clearness and force the following conclusions—

1st. It is desirable and necessary to both races that the free colored people should be removed from this State.

2nd. Liberia is their proper home, and it is for their interest to emigrate to that land of Liberty and Law.

3rd. We extend to them their due share of justice and mercy in providing for their removal thither.

4th. The Colonization Society is a proper, convenient and economical agency to effect this removal.

5th. In making a liberal appropriation for this object, the present Legislature would be carrying out the policy of this State, as declared by divers former Legislatures of Virginia for half a century.

The Rev. P. Slaughter also presented to the Legislature an elaborate address, tracing the idea of Colonization from its first suggestion by Mr. Jefferson in 1776, through all its modifications by the General Assemblies of Virginia, until its full development in the American Colonization Society; and demonstrating it to be from its conception to its consummation, and down to the present time an eminently Virginian scheme of policy. This address was republished at Washington with the Annual Report of the American Society, and again with the documents of the Report of the Naval Committee of Congress, proposing the establishment of a line of Steamers between America and Africa.

In 1850, Mr. Dorman's bill, founded upon a recommendation in Gov. Floyd's message, passed both houses of the General Assembly, with nearly the identical restrictions which made the act of 1833 unavailable. It appropriated $30,000 per annum, for five years, to the removal of the free negroes of Virginia to Liberia. It only allows $25 to be applied to the transportation of each adult and $15 to each infant under ten years of age, while the actual average expense of transporting each emigrant adult and infant is $60. It also limits the appropriation to negroes free at the time of its passage; a provision which seems to us impolitic, be-

cause its effect is not to prevent emancipation as was intended by its framers, but to leave the emancipated to remain in the Commonwealth, contrary to the spirit and intent of the law. Accordingly, more than two hundred slaves were emancipated and allowed to remain in the Commonwealth in 1850.

It is also often impossible to collect legal proof of the freedom of many negroes who are nevertheless reputed by every one who knows them to be free. These facts rendered the provisions of the law of 1833 so difficult of execution that not a dollar appropriated by it was expended. The Society did, however, to some extent, avail itself of the appropriation of 1850. The following facts will illustrate the operation of this law. In 1850 we colonized from Virginia 107 emigrants at a cost of $5,350, of which sum we received from the State Treasury only $675. In 1851 we colonized 141 persons at a cost of $7,050, of which we received from the State Treasury $1,950. In 1852 we colonized from Virginia 192 persons at a cost of $11,520, of which we received from the State Treasury only $2,815. So that while in three years we colonized from Virginia 440 emigrants at a cost of $26,400, we only used $5,430 of the State appropriation, leaving the Society to supply from private donations the sum of $21,000.

Chapter XV.

Annual Meeting of 1851—*The Report and R. G. Scott's Resolution—Speeches of Tazewell Taylor, Dorman, Janney, Moncure, Chilton and Daniel, Rev. Mr. Starr and Rev. Mr. Baily—Annual Meeting of* 1852.—*Mr. Slaughter's Report—Speeches of Bishop Payne, Rev. Mr. Moore and Rev. Mr. Read—Mr. Howard's Resolution and Rev. Isaac Tinsley's Amendment.—Annual Meeting of* 1853—*Speech of Mr. Thompson of Indiana—Passage of Bill—A Meeting of* 1855—*Speeches of Messrs. Gurley, Doggett and Burrows—Dr. Lee's Speech at Washington, and Mr. Slaughter's Resolutions.*

The next annual meeting was held in the House of Delegates in Richmond, on the 13th of February, 1851.

The President, Gov. Floyd, took the chair, and the report of Mr. Slaughter, was read by Mr. Minor. It gave a minute history of Colonization in Virginia, and discussed the the whole subject in its political, social and religious aspects. It also contained many suggestions for enlarging and facilitating the labors of the Society in Virginia.

The revenue of the Society was $7,000, a sum inadequate to pay the expenses of the large emigration from the State. The deficiency was supplied by contributions from other States through the American Colonization Society. It noticed with commendation the labors of the Rev. Mr. Bayly in the Valley, and of the Rev. Mr. Starr in Norfolk.

Mr. R. G Scott moved the adoption of the Report, and "a vote of thanks to the Rev. Mr. Slaughter for his efficient services as the Society's representative."

Mr. Scott having based some well-timed and forcible remarks upon his resolution it was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Tazewell Taylor offered the following resolution, accompanying it with some appropriate comments:

Resolved, That the scheme of Colonization originating in the Legislature of 1776, and sustained by many succeeding Legislatures, and by the authority of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Marshall, is entitled to be regarded as a measure of Virginian policy, having high claims to the confidence of all Virginians.

Mr. Dorman then made an eloquent address, exhibiting the Colonization Society as offering to the temperate wisdom of all parties and all sections a common ground of resistance to the reckless enterprises of Abolitionists.

Mr. John Janney, of Loudoun, then rose and said for fear that silence would be construed into indifference, after the invitation which had just been given him, made a few earnest and appropriate remarks, concluding with the resolution:

That the Colonization of the free people of color in Virginia on the coast of Africa or elsewhere, is a political and social necessity.

Judge Monoure in answer to a call, advocated the cause of African Colonization with warmth and power, demonstrating it to be the cause of patriotism, policy and humanity.

Hon. Samuel Chilton followed with some striking illustrations of the growing and prospective commerce of Liberia, and urging a special effort for the collection of money for carrying on this important work of State policy.

Peter V. Daniel, Jr., invoked the aid of the public press in publishing facts connected with the history and merits of African Colonization as by recommending its objects and plans.

The Annual meeting for 1852 was held in the Capitol at Richmond on the 20th of February. Gov. J. B. Floyd, the President, took the chair, and the Rev. P. Slaughter read the Report.

The Rev. T. V. Moore offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the scheme of African Colonization is one of wise policy and Christian charity, consistent with the lessons taught us alike by the history of the past, the facts of the present, and the prospects of the future.

Mr. Moore illustrated the propositions in this resolution with great felicity, and expounded clearly and beautifully the philosophy of the scheme of African Colonization.

The Rev. Mr. Read followed Mr. Moore with an address of marked ability and deep interest, filling up the outline sketched by Mr. Moore with some new and pleasing features, and setting forth the commanding claims of the subject upon patriots and Christians.

The Rt. Rev. John Payne, the missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Africa, who had recently come from Liberia, where he had been residing for thirteen years, then made interesting statements of the results of his personal observations, concluding with the opinion that the "increasing spirit of industry in Liberia, gave encouraging promise that she would become a respectable and permanent community." He said the white missions and the colonies were reciprocally necessary to each other, and showed by historical facts that missions and colonization had ever been God's general plan of propagating the Gospel.

Mr. John Howard then moved the appointment of a committee to prepare and present to the Legislature a memorial praying that the State appropriation should be so changed as to allow the application of $50 instead of $25, to the transportation of each emigrant.

Mr. H. made some forcible remarks, setting forth reasons for the modifications of the act of Assembly.

After some suggestions by the Rev. Mr. Tinsley, the motion was carried.

The committee consisted of the following persons—John Howard, John B. Floyd, Wm. H. Macfarland, T. H. Ellis, George Johnson and S. S. Baxter.

The chairman of the committee, Mr. Howard, prepared a very able memorial, which has been printed among the documents of the Society, and had a wide circulation in the newspapers. Its lucid order, strong arguments, happy illustrations and glowing style attracted the public attention, and doubtless contributed to the attainment of the objects prayed for by the memorialists.

In March, 1852, the Rev. Mr. Slaughter with the approbation of the Board of Managers, established the Virginia Colonizationist, a monthly newspaper, in the city of Richmond. The design of this newspaper was to supply an organ for the discussion of the subject of African Colonization from the Southern Stand-point, as many Southern men were unwilling to trust the treatment of questions touching the colored race to any persons who were not identified in position, principles and sympathies with us.

In the South we have peculiar institutions. No one who looks at these institutions from a Northern Stand-point can appreciate our circumstances. They may be honest and patriotic men, but circumstances modify our appreciations, and they cannot heartily sympathise with us.

During the year 1852 six vessels sailed from the United States to Liberia, with 666 emigrants, of whom 403 were born free, 38

purchased themselves, and 225 were emancipated. The revenue of the American Colonization Society for the same year was about $50,000, of which $9,500 were contributed by Virginia. The sums paid by each State into the Treasury at Washington do not represent the amount of contributions in each State to the cause of Colonization.—Each Society expends within her own borders such sums as the State Society deems expedient for keeping up her State organization, collecting emigrants and diffusing information through the media of newspapers, pamphlets and other agencies. For example, the New York Society expends five or six thousand dollars per annum in newspapers and other agencies for carrying on the war with her relentless enemies, the Abolitionists.

In 1852 we colonized from Virginia 171 emigrants. The whole amount of money accruing to the cause of colonization in Virginia for this year was $11,000. The Rev. Mr. Slaughter prepared and put into circulation at this time, for the use of members of the Legislature and other persons desiring information, a pamphlet containing "Mr. Howard's Memorial" and "Mr. Slaughter's Address to the Legislature," with letters from Commodores Stockton, Perry, Mayo and Marston, expressing the results of their observations upon the coast of Africa, and an important event of this year was the election of John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, to the Presidency of the American Colonization Society. Mr. Latrobe is a lawyer of a high order of talent, and of unblemished character, who, through evil and good report, has thrown the whole weight of his character and talent into the scale of our noble charity.

On the 17th of February, 1853, the Annual meeting of the Colonization Society of Virginia was held in the United Presbyterian Church in Richmond. It was attended by a most respectable audience, notwithstanding many competing attractions in the city on the same evening.

William H. McFarland presided, and the meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Jeter of the Baptist Church.

The Rev. Mr. Slaughter read his Report, shewing the onward progress of the work not only in Virginia, but in the United States.

Mr. R. G. Scott introduced Mr. R. W. Thompson, a native of Virginia, but for many years a distinguished member of Congress from Indiana. Mr. Thompson made a very powerful speech in which he laid bare the morbid anatomy of Northern and English sympathisers with the alleged wrongs of the slave. There was a chain of clear reasoning throughout the speech, along which streamed occasional flashes of genuine eloquence.—He placed the colonization cause upon broad grounds of policy and humanity, to which no Southern man could reasonably object.

The questions arising out of the presence of so large a free colored population in our midst were very freely discussed in the Legislature at this session. Divers schemes were suggested in debate for their removal, more or less stringent in their provisions.—They were all referred to the Committee of Courts of Justice, the chairman of which (Mr. Miller of Botetourt) reported a bill for their colonization in Liberia.

This bill, after being discussed by Messrs. Rutherfoord of Goochland, Browne of Stafford, Poulson, Miller and others, was passed with amendments.

Among the members most active and influential in its support was Mr. John M. Speed of Lynchburg.

The bill is as follows:

AN ACT.

Establishing a Colonization Board and making an appropriation for the removal of free persons from the Commonwealth, passed April 5th, 1853.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that the sum of thirty thousand dollars shall be, and the same is hereby appropriated to be paid annually for the period of five years out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated for the purposes and in the manner herein after prescribed.

Be it further enacted, that the Secretary of the Commonwealth, the Auditor of Public Accounts and Second Auditor, and their successors in office, and four other compe-

tent persons, to be appointed by the Governor, shall constitute a board for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act. The said board shall be denominated "the Colonization Board," any three of whose number shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. "The said Colonization Board," may sue and be sued in any form of action; shall cause a journal of their proceedings to be kept; shall keep an exact account of all moneys disbursed under authority of this act, and shall make a biennial report thereof to the General Assembly, showing the names, ages, and sex of such free negroes as may be transported from this commonwealth and the counties, cities or boroughs from which they may have been respectively transported, together with such other facts and suggestions as they may deem proper.

The said Colonization Board shall have authority to receive donations and bequests, when made in aid of the Colonization Society of Virginia, and the said board shall dispose of such donations and bequests for the removal of free negroes to Liberia agreeably to the provisions of this act.

Whenever satisfactory proof shall be produced to the said board, that any free negroes now free or born of free parents, and residents of this State, shall have been actually transported to the Colony, at Liberia, or other place on the western coast of Africa, or that they shall have been embarked for transportation thither, from within the limits of this commonwealth by the Virginia Colonization Society, it shall be lawful, and the said board are hereby required to issue their warrant upon the treasury of this commonwealth for such sum or sums of money as may be necessary to defray the costs of transporting and subsisting such free negroes for a limited time on the said coast of Africa, payable to the authorized and accredited agents of the said Colonization Society; provided that the sum or sums which may from time to time be thus expended, shall in no one year exceed the amount hereby appropriated for such year, unless there may be an unexpended balance of former appropriations; and provided further that not more than the sum of fifty dollars shall be allowed by said board for the transportation and subsistence as aforesaid of any free negro.

Be it further enacted, that an annual tax of one dollar shall be, and the same is hereby levied, upon every free male negro of the age of twenty-one years and under fifty-five years, to be ascertained and assessed on each by the Commissioner of the Revenue in every year, and collected by the Sheriff or other Collector of the public revenue as other public taxes and levies upon free negroes are collected. All such taxes shall be accounted for with the Auditor in the present year, and every year hereafter, and paid into the Treasury as other public taxes; and an account thereof shall be raised on the books of the Auditor and Treasurer. The fund arising from this source shall be applied to the removal of free negroes from the Commonwealth in the manner prescribed in the preceding sections of this act, and in addition to the appropriation therein made. And it shall be the duty of the County or Corporation Courts to charge the legal tax for the seal of Courts and attestation of every copy of registration delivered by them to any free negro, and to account with the Auditor of Public Accounts for such tax, and pay the same into the Treasury as other taxes in law process, except that they shall designate the same so as to enable the Auditor and Treasurer to enter all such moneys to the account directed to be raised in the preceding part of this section, and the same shall be applied to the object thereof.

The act of the eleventh of March, eighteen hundred and fifty, entitled an act making an appropriation for the removal of free persons, is hereby repealed.

This act shall be in force from its passage.

The foregoing law which was passed at the instance of the society, is a great improvement upon previous legislation. The "Board" which it establishes, was organized on the 2nd of May, by the election of Geo. W. Munford as President, and John Howard as Secretary. The other members are the first and second Auditors, Messrs. P. R. Grattan, T. H. Ellis and John O. Steger, men whose character and intelligence command the public respect and confidence.—These gentlemen deserve the thanks of the Society and of the Commonwealth for the

diligence and courtesy with which they have done gratuitously the duties devolved upon them. This Board have made a full report of their doings to the Legislature and suggested several amendments to the existing law. Governor Johnson, in his message, speaks of the report as an interesting one, and commends the proposed amendments as judicious. The following facts illustrate the workings of this law. In 1853 the Society sent from Virginia, to Liberia, 241 emigrants, of whom 146 were entitled to $50 each from the State treasury.

Many of the remaining 96 were recognized in their neighbourhood as free negroes, but it was impossible to procure legal evidence of their freedom, and consequently did not draw any thing from the treasury for their transportation. The entire sum accruing to the cause of Colonization in Virginia in 1853, was $14,000. This includes $7,300 from the State treasury, which was as much the fruit of the society's labors, as any other item of its revenue—the Legislature always making its appropriations at the solicitation of the Society.

The annual meeting of the Colonization Society of Virginia, in February 1855, was a very interesting and encouraging one. The business of the society having been dispatched during the previous week, a meeting was called at the Presbyterian church for the purpose of presenting the missionary and religious aspects of the Colonization enterprize. The Christian Advocate said, "the flower of Richmond was present; we doubt if the city could furnish a more polished, thoughtful and intelligent audience than crowded Dr. Moore's elegant church edifice on Sunday afternoon." There was a large number of ministers of the gospel present, representing all the Protestant denominations of the city. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Pastor of the church.—The Missionary Hymn was sung with fine effect. The Rev. P. Slaughter made a brief statement of the leading facts and principles of the report, instead of reading the report itself. He then introduced to the audience the Rev. Dr. Doggett of the Methodist Episcopal church, who delivered a very able, lucid and effective speech, which the society hopes to embody with its permanent documents. He was followed by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who has since visited Africa with reference to interests of Liberia. Mr. Gurley made some touching allusions to his former visits to Richmond more than twenty years ago, and reported the results of his personal observations in Liberia, which were very encouraging to the friends of African Colonization. The Rev. Dr. Burrows of the Baptist church, after a few felicitous remarks, excused himself from detaining the audience at this late hour. He barely had time to express his cordial approbation of the cause, "to allude to the moral condition of Africa, typified by her own great Sahara," and to give utterance to the conviction that the "evangelization of that continent depended mainly upon the introduction of the gospel through the door opened by the Colonization Society."

The annual report read on this occasion, drew the line of distinction between the Virginian and the American Societies, showing that the former is more distinct from and independent of the latter, than the State of Virginia is from the United States of America. It traces the influence of the Virginia society in keeping the American society within the limitations of the Constitution. The late Anniversary of the American Society furnishes two pertinent instances of the agency of the delegate from Virginia in this respect, as will appear by the following extract from the report.

Complaints having been made in the South that the American society had admitted discussions into a few of its annual reports and into the columns of its organ, the African Repository, inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution, our representative, the Rev. P. Slaughter, introduced the following resolutions:

Whereas, the exclusive design of the American Colonization Society, as declared in its fundamental law, is to remove, with their own consent, the free colored people of the United States to Africa; and whereas, in carrying out this principle, this Board has ordered that all suggestions and schemes of emancipation shall be excluded from the African Depository and other official documents of this society; and whereas, it is necessary to the consummation of this policy

that the same principle should be applied to the conduct of the public meetings of the Society, therefore,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee should have strict regard to this principle in all arrangements for our annual meetings.

Resolved, That no persons, other than those chosen by the Executive Committee, shall be permitted to make speeches at our public meetings, without a vote.

After an animated discussion, these resolutions were adopted with but one dissenting voice. The last resolution was intended to meet a particular case which had occurred a few days before at the anniversary of the American Colonization Society. The meeting having been addressed by the Governor of Connecticut, the Rev. Dr. Haight and Commander Foote of the Navy, and being about to adjourn, Col. Baldwin of Western New York requested permission to make a few remarks. He said that he was not a member of the society—but wished to suggest to it some reflections which he thought would greatly increase its usefulness. He then proposed that the proceeds of the sales of the public lands should be applied to the purchase of slaves who should be colonized on our Western frontier, or in Liberia, &c., He was evidently an intelligent and well-meaning man, acknowledging the constitutional rights of the South, and would do nothing without their consent and cooperation. But as he misrepresented the views of the society, it was deemed expedient by the Virginia delegates that his misapprehension should be corrected, lest the society should be suspected of sympathising with his views. This was very conclusively and happily done by the Rev. Dr. Lee, who set forth distinctly and luminously the powers and purposes of our association. Dr. Lee's remarks were well received and relieved the society of any wrong inferences that might have been derived from Mr. Baldwin's remarks. It was to prevent any such contingency for the future, that the last of the foregoing resolutions was moved and carried.

Thus have the delegates from Virginia striven to shut every door to the intrusion into the official proceedings of the society, of any topics foreign to its legitimate aims.

The whole number of emigrants from Virginia in 1854, was 553, of whom 273 were from Virginia. The revenue of the Colonization Society of Virginia in 1854, was $13,009. The *whole* sum contributed in Virginia, including $2,000 sent directly to Washington, was about $1,500. The 273 emigrants from Virginia, were distributed as follows, viz.: Alexandria 6—Amherst 18—Manchester 17—King George 13—Nansemond 15—Henrico 39—Madison 2—Petersburg 2—Norfolk 1—Richmond 13—Fauquier 54--Loudon 12—Portsmouth 19—Botetourt 14—Jefferson 4—Big Lick 8—Berkeley 8—Hampshire 9—Rockbridge 9—Princess Ann 7. From Eastern Virginia 229. From Western Virginia 48.

The following persons were elected officers of the Colonization Society of Virginia for the ensuing year, viz:

President—Col. John Rutherfoord.

Vice-Presidents—R. G. Scott, William H. Macfarland, Henry A. Wise, Geo. W. Summers, Judge Moncure, Andrew Stephenson, J. C. Bruce, Philip Williams, Alexander Steuart, Tazewell Taylor, Judge Caskie, J. McDowell Reid, Judge Tyler, Ballard Preston, Judge Lee, John M. Speed, Wyndham Robertson, Thos. J. Michie, John H. Cocke, Wm. Maxwell and John Janney.

Managers—P. V. Daniel, Jr., James Thomas, John O. Steger, R. Whitfield, Samuel Putney, Dr. Wm. H. Gwathmey, Nicholas Mills, Dr. Merritt, P. R. Grattan, Michael Gretter, John C. Hobson, John Howard, Dr. Wm. P. Palmer, Fleming James, Wm. H. Haxall, James Dunlop, Jacqueline P. Taylor, H. A. Claiborne and John M. Patton, Jr.

Recording Secretary—Frederick Bransford.

Corresponding Secretary—P. V. Daniel, Jr.

Treasurer—Thomas H. Ellis.

CHAPTER XVI.

Africa and America; Their providential relations; The lesson it teaches; African Colonization a great Missionary scheme: Remarkable agreement of Christians upon this subject; Proceedings of ecclesiastical bodies in Virginia. The failure of all white missions before the settlement of Liberia; Sierra Leone, Wesleyan, Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian, and other mission stations, without the limits of Liberia.

No American Christian can shut his eyes

to the relations which God has established between America the most highly favored and Africa the most degraded nation on earth.

When the "Sun of Righteousness" made his sun-like circuit of the earth, he did not shed a ray upon the land of the black man. Millions in Central Africa had (through long centuries) lived without God and died without hope. When at last the Church of Christ awoke to a consciousness of its responsibilities and made the discovery of the melancholy state of this people, it sent forth missionary after missionary to plant the standard of the cross within this camp of Satan.

Every white missionary fell a victim to the deadly night dews of that inhospitable clime, and the bones of a "noble army of martyrs" bleached the burning sands.

To human view the land seemed doomed. In the meantime God had permitted large numbers of Africans to be transplanted in America and placed in contact with our Christian civilization, under the wholesome discipline to which they were subjected they have been rising steadily in the intellectual and moral scale until they have attained a stature far higher than those whom they left in their native seats. Thousands of them have been made acquainted with "the truth as it is in Jesus," and have died in the triumphs of the Christian faith. Thousands more are rejoicing in the hope of glory. This is "the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." No thinking man can deny the significance of facts like these, and no conscientious man can be indifferent to the questions of duty which they revive. We have only to deal with these facts in their bearing upon the question of the evangelization of Africa. Some years since while Christians were consciously pondering the problem of planting the Gospel in Africa, the happy thought was suggested to their minds (by the spirit of God as we believe) of returning to the land of their fathers, christianised Africans, carrying with them the ark of God and all the institutions of modern civilization.—Happily there was a class of these persons (the free negroes) to whose going no objection would be opposed. Indeed, all interests, social and political, conspired to favor the suggestion. The experiment was made and considering the poverty of the materials has succeeded beyond our anticipations.—Our civil and religious institutions have been transplanted in the African wilderness which has become vocal with the accents of prayer and praise. Under the shadow of the Liberian government, the white missionary can now live, and the centre of African barbarism has become the centre of christian influence. African colonization has thus pushed the base of our missionary operations across the Atlantic, 4,000 miles in advance of its former position. Now ought this vantage-ground, gained at such expense, to be maintained or abandoned. The colony is yet but an experiment. It needs still our nursing care. Cherish it and christianity will have a home in Africa. The colonist and the missionary must stand or fall together. "Missions and colonization," says Bishop Payne, "have ever been God's great scheme for spreading christianity over the world"—and again he says it is generally agreed among Christians "that colonization is one of God's plans."

Bishop Scott after visiting the Methodist churches in Liberia, calls the Colonial settlements bright spots raying out light upon the surrounding darkness." Of the same report is the testimony of Mr. Bowen and the Baptist missionaries, and Mr. Wilson and the Presbyterians. If we compare for a moment the present state of American missions in Liberia with their condition before the establishment of the Colonies, the comparison will be most instructive. The Methodist Conference consists of twenty-one preachers, all or whom are colored. They number 1,301 members, of whom 116 are natives.—Fifteen Sunday schools and 839 scholars, of whom fifty are natives. Twenty week day schools and five hundred and thirteen scholars; seven native schools and one hundred and twenty-seven scholars. They have a seminary at Monrovia for the higher branches which cost $10,000.

The Baptist Board (whose pioneer was Lot Cary of Virginia) have fifteen stations, twenty colored missionaries, seven teachers, four native assistants, thirteen day schools and four hundred and thirty-six pupils—six hundred communicants.

The Presbyterians have two ordained ministers one licentiate, three churches, one

hundred and sixteen members and three Sunday schools. They have also day schools for natives and colonists. At Monrovia they have an excellent school of from fifty to seventy-five scholars, and at the same place the Alexander High School, under the care of the Rev. D. A. Wilson, a fine scholar.

The Episcopal mission begun in 1836, has stations at Cape Palmas, Monrovia, Bassa, Sinou, and Clay-Ashland on the St. Pauls. They have a stone Church at Cape Palmas and also an Orphan Asylum, a brick church on the St. Pauls and a stone one at Monrovia.

Among the Colonists it has four settled ministers and one candidate for orders, four common schools, one high school, five teachers and assistants, and 150 scholars.

Among the natives they have five stations. The language of one tribe has been reduced to writing. About one hundred native children are in the boarding schools of the mission. There are eight or ten native teachers, three candidates for the ministry, and two ordained native ministers.

In view of these facts what American Christian can fail to see that he is under obligation to follow the leading's of God's Providence. He seems to have committed Africa to our keeping. Her destiny is (humanly speaking) in the hands of American Christians. We have already seen the remarkable agreement of politicians of all parties in the wisdom of the scheme of African Colonization as a measure of State policy. The following proceedings of the ecclesiastical bodies of Virginia, will show a like agreement among Christians of all creeds as to its missionary aspect.

After a brief address by the Rev. P. Slaughter, the Baptist General Association of Virginia in 1853, passed unanimously the following resolutions.

On motion of Elder Wm. F. Broaddus, the following resolutions were passed *unanimously:*

Resolved, That the subject of African colonization is, in our judgment, a wise measure of State policy, and a worthy object of Christian sympathy and support.

Resolved, That we have entire confidence in the Colonization Society of Virginia, and invoke for its Agents the kind co-operation of the Baptists of Virginia.

Resolved, That we recommend to our brethren in the ministry to present this subject to their congregations on some Sabbath in the year, and take up a collection for the Colonization Society of Virginia.

Signed. J. B. Jeter, Moderator.

All who were present recollect the flattering testimonies borne by Elders Ball and Bowen, to the flourishing state of the colonies in Liberia. They testified what they had seen. No one can have forgotten their warm exhortations to cherish these colonies as great agencies of Providence for giving Christianity a home in Africa. One of these brethren has since gone to give an account of his stewardship, and we doubt not looks back with joy to his labors of love for poor benighted Africa. The other still toils beneath her burning sun, patiently waiting for the crown of martyrdom.

Resolutions of the Episcopal Convention of Virginia.

"Rev. Mr. Slaughter presented the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, this Convention is informed of the re-organization of the Colonization Society of Virginia, whose object is to cooperate with the American Colonization Society in sending back to the land of their fathers the free colored of this State. And, whereas, it is believed that the success which has attended the scheme of African Colonization, encourages the hope that it will do more than any other plan which has been suggested for the solution of the difficult, social, political and religious problems arising out of the providential presence of this class of persons amongst us, and furnishes strong reasons for believing that the christian commonwealth which it has planted in the very centre of African barbarism—by means of its churches and schools, as well as by the protection and encouragement it affords to our missionaries to the Heathen, and by being in itself the nursery of native colored missionaries—is one of the chief instruments by which Divine Providence will fulfil his own prophecy, that 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hand unto God. Therefore,

"Resolved, That this Convention doth

commend to the members and friends of our communion in Virginia, the subject of African Colonization, as a wise measure of State policy, and a deserving object of christian charity.

"Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the Ministers and Vestries of the Episcopal Church in this Diocese, to take up collections for this cause on the Sunday preceding or succeeding the 4th of July, or at such other time as they may deem more expedient."

Resolutions of Presbyterian Synod of Virginia passed after an address of Rev. P. Slaughter seconded by member of the Synod.

Resolved, That the Ministers of this Synod be earnestly recommended to present this subject to the several congregations with which they are connected, at some early day, and take up collections in its behalf with a view of giving efficiency to the legislation of the State upon this great measure of State policy and Christian charity.

Resolution of Methodist Episcopal Conference South, after an address by Rev. Mr. Slaughter seconded by Drs, Dogget and Lee.

The Rev. Jos. H. Davis then offered the following resolution, which was passed unanimously:

Resolved, That this Conference recommend to the approval and patronage of our people generally, the interests of the Colonization Society of Virginia. and that we recommend that collections be taken up in its behalf on the Sabbath preceding the 4th of July in each year.

Resolution of Baltimore Conference.

Resolved, That we regard the cause of African Colonization with increasing favor and will give it our cordial support.

2. *Resolved*, That we cordially commend to the people within the bounds of this conference the Rev. R. Given, agent for the Pennsylvania State Colonization Society, the Rev. J. Seys, agent for the Maryland State Colonization Society, and the Rev. P. Slaughter, agent for the Virginia State Colonization Society.

The foregoing fact will be more instructive if placed in contrast with the melancholy failure of all previous efforts of white missionaries to plant Christianity permanently in tropical Africa. Roman Catholic missionaries laboured in this field for more than two hundred years without leaving a trace behind them The Moravians beginning in 1736 toiled for thirty four years, making five attempts at the cost of many lives and effected nothing. An English effort made in 1792 was abandoned in two years with a loss of one hundred lives. The London, Edinburg and Glasgow Societies commenced three stations in 1797 which were extinct in three years, having lost five out of six missionaries. The London missionary Society established ten stations, and nine of them were soon driven to take refuge in Sierra Leone the only place in which they would labor with hope. The tenth was given up to the French. Thus did eighteen missionary enterprises, before the settlement of Liberia, fail, while every attempt at colonizing Africa with colored people and every missionary effort connected with the Colonies, has succeeded.

That the reader may have a general idea of missionary operations in Western Africa, we will notice briefly the several stations besides Liberia. The principal seat of English operations is Sierra Leone. When the decision of Lord Mansfield in the case of the negro Somerset established the axiom that so soon as a slave sets his foot on English ground he becomes free, there were many negroes in London who had been brought to England by their masters; these soon after their emancipation fell into great distress for want of a competent support. Under the auspices of Granville Sharp, the British government removed them to Sierra Leone in 1787. During the American revolution a number of negroes were seduced to join the Royal Standard and were subsequently planted in Nova Scotia. The climate being too cold for them, about 1200 were removed at their own request to Sierra Leone in 1792. In 1815 Paul Cuffee induced forty blacks to go with him at his expense to Sierra Leone. A large accession to its population has been made by negroes recaptured from the slave-traders by the British Navy. Its present population is between forty and fifty thousand. This settlement has suffered many disasters, but prom-

ises to survive them all. The English Church Missionary Society was originally established with the view of furnishing Christian teachers to Sierra Leone. This Society says in one of its reports "It is impossible to estimate the importance of Sierra Leone as a seed plot for the evangelization of Africa. There were collected at this point representatives of more than 200 different tribes, speaking 151 distinct languages besides numerous dialects of the same. These tribes lie along 4000 miles of coast from the Senegal to the Portuguese settlements. Tribes far distant in the interior have also their representatives in this colony. The design of the Society is to instruct these in the Christian religion, and send them to their own tribes speaking each in his tongue the wonderful works of God.

"The Christian character of these natives has been amply tested and has been found in many instances capable of sustaining with consistency the pressure of service and responsibility. Many of them have acted with fidelity and intelligence for years as Catechists, while a few have been admitted to Holy orders." Some three thousand of these Africans have been sent from Sierra Leone to Abeokuta, sixty miles north of Badagry, where they have erected churches in the midst of a large heathen population.

Since 1735 the English Wesleyans have multiplied their stations from Dixcove 300 miles east of Cape Palmas. They have penetrated to Kumasi the capitol of Ashantee. They report 23 places of preaching, 23 day-schools and 1000 scholars; 809 communicants and 4700 attendants on public worship. The English Baptists have a mission on the Island of Fernando Po. The Germans have one at Acra.

The Church Missionary Society have begun a mission on the eastern coast in latitude 4° south. In Southern Africa the English Wesleyans alone report nearly 5000 attendants upon public worship and 5000 children under instruction. The London Congregational Society is exerting also a great influence. The operations of the Paris Missionary Society, and of the American Board are also extensive and efficient. The Episcopal church in the Island of Barbadoes, contemplate a missionary colony in Western Africa. The heroic Bowen, the American Baptist missionary, with his brethren have pitched their tents far in the interior of Africa, and are calling for help to occupy waste places beyond Abeokuta. Thus are the hosts of God penetrating on all sides the stronghold of Sin, Satan and Death, furnishing a ground for the hope that in the good time to come the African wilderness "shall blossom like the rose." In these latter days when the light of saving truth has been kindled and is growing brighter in almost all the dark regions of the globe, Africa should not and will not be forgotten, for the decree has gone forth "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God."

CHAPTER XVII.

The Geography of Liberia, Montserado County. Monrovia, Georgia, Caldwell, Virginia, Kentucky, Millsburg. The St. Paul's Junk, Stockton and St. John's rivers. Marshall. Bassa County, Edina, Buchanan, Bexley, Sinou, Greenville, Reedsville, Lexington, Louisiana, Maryland, Cape Palmas, Harper, Cavalla, &c., &c.

The territorial limits of the Republic of Liberia on the sea-coast, are the Sherbro river on the north in latitude 7–20, and the grand Sesters river on the south in latitude 4–30. The distance between these points on the coast is about 500 miles. It is divided into three counties, Montserado, grand Bassa and Sinou. *Monrovia*, in Montserado County, is the Capitol of the Republic, and has about 2000 inhabitants. It is located near the mouth of Messurado river about four miles south east of the entrance of the St. Paul's river into the ocean on an elevated site behind Cape Messurado in 6°16′ north. The summit of the Cape is 250 feet, and the highest point of the town about 80 feet above the level of the sea. The town is partly hidden by the promontory. Commander Lynch says the pitch of the Cape is gently rounded, and would present a rugged appearance, were it not covered with the richest mantle of green which I ever

looked upon. "Except a narrow strip of beach with a few outlying rocks at the water edge, all is one mass of foliage of tangled vines and shrubbery beneath, and above, a dense growth of trees half-concealing the light-house upon the summit of the cape. The houses in the town are detached, being built on lots of a quarter of an acre each. The houses are generally one story or a story and a half high, some have two full stories. The best houses are built of stone and brick; many of them are neatly and some handsomely furnished. In almost all the yards there are fruit trees, such as the lime, the lemon, the banana, the tamarind, the orange and the coffee tree. On Broadway, south of Fort Hill, is the government House, a large stone building with arched windows and a balcony in front. The lower floor is used as a Court room and printing office, and the upper one as the hall of the Legislative Council; behind it is the jail; directly opposite is the President's House, a double two-story brick building with a portico, the roof of which is supported by lofty columns. There are five churches well attended. Capt. Lynch says "I never saw a more thorough church going community, nor heard a greater rustling of silks when the congregation dispersed. One of the most gratifying things I saw was the great number of well dressed and well behaved children."

The suburbs, the river and the inner harbor are commanded by Fort Hill and the outer harbor by Fort Norris. On the outskirt of the town is a large coffee grove. Agriculture about Monrovia is not flourishing, owing to the absorbing spirit of trade and the poverty of the soil in its vicinity. The town was more prosperous says Capt. Lynch than he had anticipated. The sea breeze at all times blows directly over it, and in this respect it has the advantage of Sierra Leone. About three miles above its mouth, the St. Pauls river forks; the main stream running towards the ocean, while the other branch (Stockton creek) flows in a south easterly direction, and unites with the little Messurado river near its mouth forming Bushrod Island. On the south east, the east branch of Messurado river is separated by a portage of only five miles from the head of Junk river which empties into the ocean 35 miles below. Monrovia is the natural outlet of a large extent of country.

New Georgia is a small settlement on Stockton creek five miles from Monrovia. It is peopled chiefly by natives recaptured by our Navy and sent to Liberia by the Government of the United States. Most of them have taken the oath of Allegiance; many have intermarried with Colonists and one has been a Representative in the Legislature.

Caldwell is on the St. Pauls river, commencing about 9 miles from Monrovia and running along the river about six miles. The houses are from one hundred yards to a quarter of a mile apart. Some of the most successful farmers reside here; population 400.

New Virginia, opposite to Caldwell, was settled in 1846 and is the site of the United States receptacle for liberated Africans; population about 400. The St. Pauls is three quarters of a mile wide at Caldwell and grows narrower to Millsburg fourteen miles from its mouth.

Commander Lynch says, that after passing Caldwell the river becomes bold and swiftly flowing and the banks being dotted with farm houses, it was like the shifting of a scene in a theatre, and he gazed with satisfaction at the beautiful sight. The banks were from 10 to 30 feet high. On each side is a cultivated belt with a dense forest behind it; the most conspicuous trees are the light-green broad-leaved banana and the palms rearing their tufted heads high above them all. The soil is a loamy clay "equal to the best sugar lands of Brazil." On the banks of the river are four hundred farms and three thousand cultivators. Many of the houses are of brick. Capt. Lynch says "he landed at four or five places and saw every indication of comfort and prosperity, far more so than in Monrovia. The houses were well furnished. The sugar cane was growing finely, and a little cotton was raised for domestic use. The coffee tree is indigenous and being transplanted requires but little care." I cannot give a better idea of the prosperity of the settlements on the St. Pauls than by stating that cleared land fronting the river sells at $40 to $50 per acre. Some of

the country seats were beautiful, such as Pleasant View, Iconium and Mt. Horeb. Clay Ashland and Millsburg are villages, the former having about 200, the latter about 400 inhabitants.

Sinou County, extends from the river Sesters on the North to Grand Sesters on the South, embracing about eighty miles of Seacoast. Greenville and its vicinity and Settra Kroo are the only portions of the coast settled by Liberians. The latter is only a missionary station at which two or three families of Liberians live. Missionaries of the Presbyterian Board labored at Settra Kroo for several years. They still have a native school there taught by a Liberian. The Sinou, a small but placid river was chosen many years ago by Colonists from Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina who after acclimating at Monrovia founded the town of *Greenville* on the right bank just above the river's mouth. *Greenville* faces the sea and has the river just beyond it. To the South are two shallow bays. At the North Western extremity of the most Northern bay is the promontory of Bloobarre, a broad, high rock, at the inland base of which are the brown, conical huts of the *Bloobarre tribe.* Greenville is regularly laid out, and Mississippi avenue with a row of houses on one side and the sea on the other is a delightful promenade. Capt. Lynch says the houses were the neatest he had seen, and the gardens much better than those at Monrovia. There is a number of mechanics in Greenville and also a steam saw-mill to which timber is rafted by an artificial canal from the river.

The river though deep within the bar is navigable only seventeen miles to the falls; about two miles from the beach it branches into two streams. On the land, between the two, and facing both rivers are several villages or farming settlements, as Rossville, Readsville, Lexington, &c. The population of Greenville is about 600, and the other settlements have about 100 each. Rice is the principal growth and is raised in great quantities by the Natives. The principal article of export is Palm oil; much attention is paid to the culture of the coffee plant which Lynch says in beauty and fragrance of foliage and flower equals the orange which it far surpasses in the fruit. The timber in many varieties is harder and heavier than any in America except the live oak, and much of it when seasoned will not float in water. Other kinds correspond to our pine in lightness, and whether for houses, ships or furniture, the mechanic is abundently supplied.

Marshall is a settlement of about 300 inhabitants at the mouth of the Junk river which empties into the sea about 35 miles south of Monrovia. It is called after the late chief Justice of the U. States. It is noted for the manufacture of lime from the shells of oysters which abound in the Junk river. The northern branch of this river which is about forty miles long is the chief thoroughfare between Monrovia and Marshall.

Bassa County has the towns of Edina and Bassa Cove on the opposite points of the mouth of the St. Johns river which is a beautiful stream flowing into the sea about sixty miles south of the St. Pauls. Bassa Cove extends nearly all the way to Fishtown which is at the point of Bassa Cove or harbour. Within the bar are concentrated the waters of three rivers; the Mecklin flowing from the north; the St. Johns from the north east; and the Benson from the east.

Edina settled in 1832 has about 300 inhabitants. It is situated on the north side of the estuary, immediately on the sea, on a tongue of land between the Mecklin and the ocean. It has one Baptist and one Methodist place of worship, many pleasant residences and two schools.

Upper Buchanan on the south side of the estuary has about 280 inhabitants and is most advantageously situated for trade. The Methodists and Baptists have places of worship here, and there are two schools and six stores.

Lower Buchanan is two miles and a half south of the river's mouth, and is beautifully situated on the finest bay in Liberia There are 200 inhabitants. The new mission house for an Episcopal missionary, also a high school building and church will be erected near this settlement. The mission house is

now going up. On the Benson river there is a steam saw mill. Near Buchanan Capt. Lynch saw a number of cattle larger than those at Monrovia.

Harrisburg and Bexley are farming districts on the St. Johns. The former is a recent settlement; the latter extends five or six miles along the river, and some of the residences and farms present an interesting appearance. Industry and enterprise are apparent. The northern Baptist Board is doing an excellent work among the Bassas. The mission buildings at Bexley are beautifully situated. Mr. Von Bruns village of native Bassas, opposite Bexley, is under the jurisdiction of Liberia, and Mr. Van Brun its chief, is a christian teacher and magistrate. The Methodists and Baptists are both laboring successfully on the St. Johns. The St. Johns river is half a mile wide at the estuary, and for a mile is fringed with mangroves. Thence it gradually lessens in width and at the distance of three miles is divided into two channels by Factory Island. Above the Island the river gradually narrows in width and does not exceed two hundred yards at Bexley. Opposite to Bexley is the town of "Old Soldier," a venerable and frieudly old man upwards of one hundred years old. Not far above is the head of navigation. After the mangrove ceases the soil is a yellowish clay; and the principal growth is the soap tree, the wild cotton tree and the palm tree.

The chief forest growth above the rapids is Camwood, bastard Mahogany, African Hickory and Oak. From thirty to fifty miles from the sea is one unbroken Camwood forest used by the natives for fuel and for building. The whole world might be supplied with Camwood wafted down the St. Johns. Most of the land on the coast has been cleared, cultivated, abandoned, is grown up into tangled thickets and shrubs interlaced with enumerable vines and creepers. In ascending the rivers the primitive forest in all its natural grandeur covers the earth; the graceful palm tree waves, its feathery branches, and the lofty Wisnione and huge mahogany rear their towering heads, while among the green foliage is seen innumerable gay blossoms, which, says Lynch, give a kaleidoscopic variety to the embowering wood.

Maryland in Liberia is an independent State. It was settled in 1834 by Colonists from the State of Maryland. It is about 250 miles by sea, south east of Monrovia. Cape Palmas is a rocky peninsula joined to the main by a low, sandy isthmus; the highest part of it is about 74 feet above the sea. Its eastern end is covered by a collection of Native houses called Grand Town: on the remainder of the peninsula is the settlement of Colonists. The chief town is Harper. The cession of this territory was negotiated by Dr. James Hall. In February, 1834, the Maryland Col. Society landed 53 emigrants at this point. In 1836 an additional tract of land was procured, extending the Colonial territory along the Cavally to the distance of 30 miles from its mouth. Palmas river washes the Northern side of the peninsula. In 1837 Russwurm a colored man was appointed governor. This colony is now an independent State. William A. Prout (a colored man) the secretary and friend of Russwurm has been appointed Governor, and B. J. Drayton, Lt. Governor, and Thomas Mason, Secretary of State. The Cavally river enters the sea fifteen miles east of Cape Palmas. Its mouth being choked by sand bars is not more than one hundred yards wide, but immediately above it spreads out to the breadth of half a mile. It is navigable for boats sixty miles. At the distance of forty five miles from the coast, it passes between two high mountains which in clear weather are visible from the sea. The names of some twenty tribes are familiar as inhabiting the banks of the Cavalla and on its placid bosom the messengers of the gospel are carrying the glad tidings of the gospel to the heathen. Maryland in Liberia is the chief seat of the American Episcopal Missionaries who have a church, (St. Mark's) an orphan Asylum and schools. The Baptists and Methodists and Presbyterians have also missions in this State. We regret that we have not the materials at hand for an accurate and fuller account of these interesting missions. The population is about 1000 emigrants from America and many native tribes under the Jurisdiction of the State.

Note.—The foregoing geography of Liberia has been compiled from the personal observations of Captains Lynch and Foote of the United States Navy, of Dr Lugenbeel, and of the Rev. Messrs. Pinney and Gurley, and of a writer in the Cavalla Messenger a paper published by the Episcopal Missionaries at Cape Palmas.

Chapter XVIII.

Testimony of eye-witnesses of Liberia: Rev. Messrs. Gurley and Pinney, of Dr. Lugenbeel, of the Missionaries, of our Naval Officers, Commodores Stockton, Perry, Mayo, Lavalette, Read, Cooper and Gregory; Commanders Lynch, Foote, Marston, Rudd and Purser Bradford; comparison of Colonization of Virginia and Liberia, &c.

We are aware that there are those who regard the pictures of Liberia, drawn by its partial friends, as overwrought. To some extent this is probably true; but if any reliance is to be placed on human testimony, we cannot be deceived as to the main facts, attested as they are by so many disinterested and unimpeachable witnesses.

Not having visited Liberia ourselves, we are obliged to rely upon the evidence of those who testify what they have seen. These eye-witnesses may be distributed into three classes: the first class will embrace the Rev. Messrs. Gurley and Pinney, and Dr. Lugenbeel. Mr. Gurley visited the colony in its infancy, and again in 1849, after a lapse of twenty years. On the latter occasion he went out at the instance of the government of the United States, with instructions to ascertain and report the condition and resources of the Republic of Liberia. He made an elaborate report of his observations, to the Secretary of State which was communicated by him to the Senate of the United States, and printed by its order.

Dr. Lugenbeel resided six years in Liberia as colonial physician and agent of the American government for recaptured Africans. The result of his observations may be seen in his *Sketches of Liberia*, which give much valuable information about the geography, climate and productions of the country.

The Rev. Mr. Pinney was once governor of the colony, and after the lapse of many years, revisited it in 1854. His report has been spread before the public in all our newspapers. These witnesses being all ardent colonizationists, may be suspected of having painted too flattering a portrait of the young Republic. Let their testimony then, be compared with the depositions of other witnesses. There are many Christian missionaries within the limits of Liberia; many of these went to Africa with strong prejudices against the colonies; they were of opinion that a community of merely nominal Christians should not be placed in contact with the heathen, lest the latter should be prejudiced against Christianity by the inconsistent lives of the colonists, whom they would regard as the representatives of the religion of Christ. The missionaries now admit that this was a short-sighted view of the subject, and they concur in the opinion that the colonies, in connection with missions, are designed by Providence to be the instruments of African regeneration. The children of colonists furnish the best material for colored missionaries, upon whom they ultimately rely for a permanent ministry.

But there is another class of witnesses above all suspicion of bias. These are the gallant *officers of our Navy*, who have commanded squadrons and single ships upon the coast of Africa. The first of these whom we shall cite, is *Commodore Stockton*, who, during Mr. Monroe's administration, cöoperated in choosing the site of the first plantation. In a letter to the author in December, 1852, he says: "In regard to Liberia becoming a permanent and desirable asylum for our free people of color, I consider that question settled by the experiment already made. No colony in modern times has given more auspicious indications of ultimate success.—Liberia, in my opinion, is the natural home and should be the alluring hope of the African in America.

The only hope of the race and of Africa, is in colonizing those who have been christianized on their ancestral shores, where they may secure the blessings already achieved, and communicate them to their kindred but barbarous tribes. That in Liberia the negro race may rise and become a flourishing and progressive race, I have no doubt. Elsewhere there is no such hope to encourage them. I have great confidence in the success of the good cause in which you are engaged. It has passed through its state of infancy and childhood, and is fast ripening into the bone and hardihood of maturity. I

hope that Virginia may soon become the entire friend of this noble cause."

Commodore Perry says: "Having had an agency while serving as 1st Lieutenant of the Cyane in the selection of Mesurado as a suitable place for settling the colonists, I first saw this beautiful promontory, when its dense forests were only inhabited by wild beasts. Since then, I have visited it thrice, and each time have noticed with infinite satisfaction, its progressive improvement." After noticing several particulars, he continues: "Upon the whole, I cannot but think most favorably of these settlements. The experiment of settling the free colored people upon this coast, has succeeded beyond the expectations of many of the warmest friends of colonization, and I may venture to predict that the descendants of the present settlers are destined to become an intelligent and thriving people. The endeavors of the colonists to suppress the slave trade, have been eminently successful, and it is by planting these settlements along the coast, that the exportation of slaves will be most effectually prevented. These settlements would have a certain tendency to civilize natives by introducing among them schools, the mechanic arts, and those comforts for which they will exchange articles of African produce. Their commerce, already considerable, would be increased. It is much to be desired that these settlements should be multiplied and sustained by the fostering care of Congress and the government."

Commodore Mayo in 1853, writing from the flag-ship, gives his opinion as follows:

"When in command of the Macedonian in 1843–44, my interest in colonization was confirmed by my observations. My more recent observations in this ship have convinced me that the efforts of the colonization societies have been crowned with the most substantial success, and that the results of their generous philanthropy is no longer doubtful. No one who sees the American emigrant in the Legislature and courts of justice, performing the highest duties of a citizen with grave and decorous intelligence, no one who sees the schools and churches, the erection of substantial and spacious brick houses, which are supplanting the cheaper structures of the earlier colonists, will fail to find abundant evidence of the improved condition of the black man in his new home. I have the strongest faith in the bright future that awaits Liberia, and that she will wield the most powerful influence in regenerating Africa.

It gives me pleasure to find that the most cordial feeling seems to exist between the missionaries and the colonial authorities. The American colonies have driven the slavers from a large portion of the coast, once their favorite resort, and the influence of legitimate trade will prove one of the most powerful instruments for the suppression of the traffic. The English have shown much wisdom in establishing their line of steamers and it is greatly to be regretted, that our own government has not been authorized to avail itself of this method of securing a valuable branch of commerce, and affording aid to colonization. The withdrawal of the African squadron would be attended with the most injurious results. Our trade on this coast would certainly be destroyed or perverted to the purposes of the slave trade, &c.

In conclusion, I have no hesitation in saying as a *southerner* and a *slaveholder*, that every exertion should be used to get at least one or two hundred thousand dollars to carry out the laudable views of our several colonization societies, and if the *abolitionists* (who, I see by the papers, have been attacking you as well as me,) would appropriate half the money they expend in aiding the running away of our negroes, to the colonization society, they *would stand some chance of getting to Heaven.*"

To the foregoing might be added the evidence of *Commodores Read, Lavelette, Skinner, Cooper, Gregory*, and we believe of every officer who has commanded a squadron upon the coast of Africa; but our space forbids. We must content ourselves with summoning several witnesses from a number of subordinate officers, who have testified in favor of Liberia. Among these, Commanders *Foote* and *Lynch* have made the fullest reports. The former commanded the brig Perry in 1850 and 1851, and has written an instruc-

tive volume of nearly 400 pages, entitled Africa and the American Flag, in which he has given a view of the whole subject in all its aspects and relations. One who would form a just judgment of Liberia, should not fail to consult Commander Foote's interesting pages.

Commander Lynch, in 1852, was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to visit the coast of Africa, for the purpose of acquiring intelligence preliminary to an exploration of the country interior and adjacent to Liberia. In obedience to this order he visited many places on the Liberian coast and in the interior.

The result of his observations was published by Congress in a volume of sixty-four pages, containing much valuable information about the Liberian settlements, the commerce and productions and general condition of the Republic and the adjacent country. We should be pleased to give a summary of this valuable report, but we must content ourselves with the remark, that it is of the same import with the documents already cited, and beg our readers to consult it for themselves. We now quote from a letter of Commander John Rudd, of Fredericksburg, Va., written to ourselves in compliance with our request that he would give us his candid opinion of Liberia. The letter is dated U. S. ship Constitution, off Monrovia, October, 1853. "I promised to give you my opinion about the colonies on this coast. Of course, thus far, I have had but little chance for observation, but what I have seen has made *a very favorable impression.* The emigrants appear to be well instructed, having many comforts, and all appear to *be contented and happy. Any person that will work can do very well here.* I went to the Episcopal church yesterday; a black priest officiated, and did very well. As to their having slaves, *it is all humbug.* Those who can afford it have servants. I took dinner with President Roberts and was much pleased with him and his lady. I have made several visits and never received more hospitality any where.

I have been told that the people in the country are doing better than those in town. The English have a line of steamers on the coast which are taking away all the trade from us. Steam is the only thing on this coast."

Purser Bradford of the Navy, says "he was three years on the coast of Africa, and was diligent in making inquiries and observations, and he saw no emigrants who were desirous of returning. The general tone of the community was that of content and happiness—he believed that there was no more moral, correct and religious population on the face of the globe," &c. Surely these authorities will satisfy any reasonable man. But there are opposing authorities. Some officers have expressed opinions unfavorable to Liberia. These have been expressed in private conversation. If we had any written statements we would print them, as we wish to have the whole truth upon this subject.—Upon this point we addressed inquiries to Captain Marston, who replied as follows: "I am aware that some of our officers have expressed opinions unfavorable to Liberia, but with these I have always differed. Their opinions, I think, were governed by their expectations being raised too high; if they had reflected that a little more than thirty years ago there were only twenty Americans in Liberia, and now it is an independent republic, acknowledged by the great powers of Europe, their surprise would have been as it was with myself, that so much had been accomplished in so short a time, under such unfavorable circumstances. That the emigrants have some difficulties and privations to encounter, all will admit; but there are many privileges and comforts to counterbalance these; and I do not hesitate to give my opinion in favor of emigration to Liberia."

We might multiply these authorities over many pages, and we might add to them letter after letter from the emigrants themselves, expressing gratitude for the past, satisfaction with the present, and hope for the future. But we have already exceeded our limits, and must refer those who want more light, to the documents themselves, which can be had by all who desire them.

We do not wish to conceal the fact that

some expeditions to Liberia have been attended by much suffering and mortality. Such disasters have marked every like enterprise. A comparison of the colonization of Liberia with that of Virginia, will be instructive. The first two expeditions to our own shores were perfect failures, both having been overwhelmed at sea; the third effected a landing in 1586, and in five years was extinct The fourth was successful after a series of disasters, the recital of which fills the mind with horror. In 1609, says a historian of Virginia, Captain Smith left at Jamestown 490 persons, with abundant supplies. Soon plots thickened around them, Indian ambuscades were in every hedge, the settlers dared not wander forth in search of food or recreation, their provisions either failed entirely or were rendered unwholesome by decay, diseases spread rapidly and death began his race, famine in all its horrors, was among them, they subsisted upon the skins of horses, upon dogs, vermin and the body of an In-l. Of 490 persons, sixty only survived, ng upon roots and berries until they were eneved by supplies from home. This fact in our history, seems to have been forgotten by those who are so discouraged by the mortality attending some companies to Liberia. The truth is that forty years had elapsed after the settlement of Roanoke, before the colonies of England on this coast attained the stature of Liberia, and centuries passed away before civil and religious rights were so well understood. There is not a Spanish colony at this day, not even an old established country of Europe, which is prepared for such a constitution as tha which the Liberians have voluntarily adopted. Distressing as the mortality has occasionally been, a comparison will show that it has been less than that which attended the settlement at Jamestown or Plymouth, or California. If similar disasters had overtaken Liberia, to those which have signalized many new settlements in our own country, our enterprise would have been overwhelmed with the curses of those philanthropists who have no tears to shed over the young, the beautiful and the brave, whose bones bleach the prairies of the West, and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific Ocean.

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